IT'S NO SECRET

Israel's Military Involvement in Central America

Milton Jamail
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Israel's Military Involvement in Central America

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CONTENTS

TABLES vii

PREFACE xi

CHAPTER 1
Introduction 1

CHAPTER 2
Reasons for Israel's Military Involvement in Central America 5

CHAPTER 3
Dimensions of Israeli Military Involvement 27

CHAPTER 4
When Will It End? 73

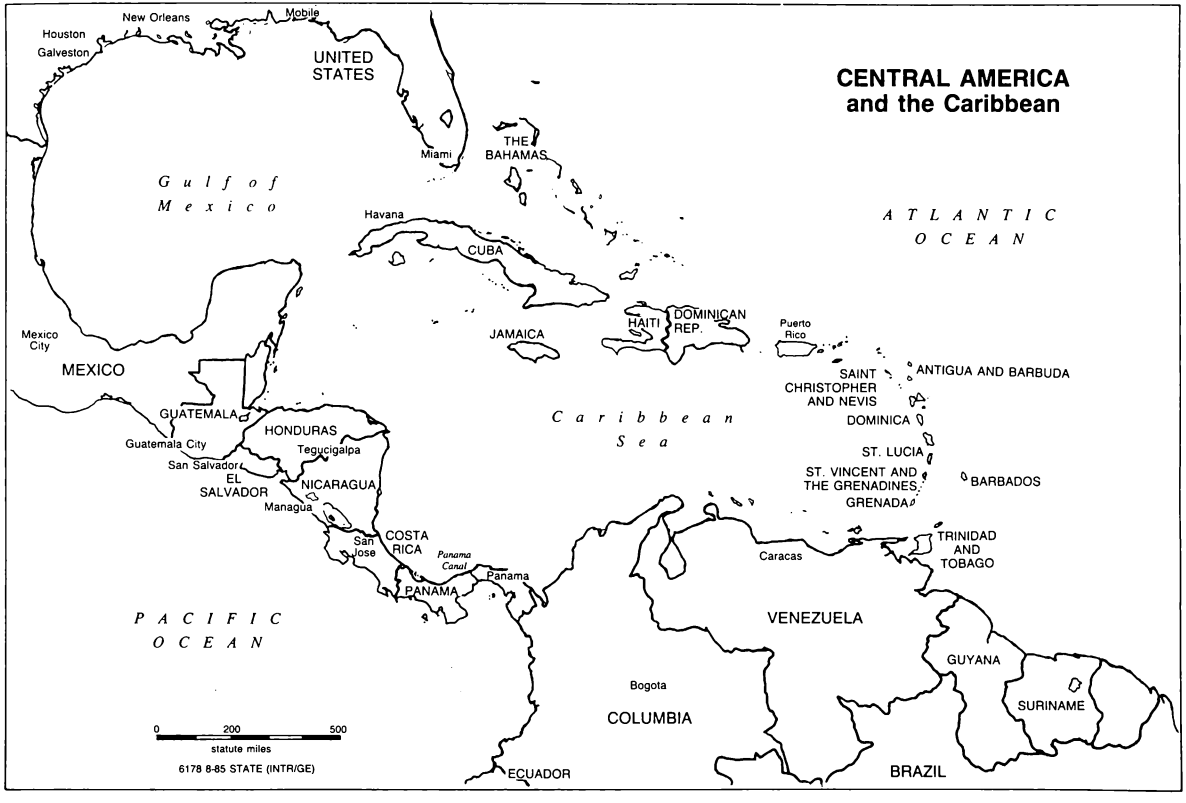
APPENDIX 81

BIBLIOGRAPHY 83

INDEX 115

TABLES

1. Estimated Jewish Populations in Central America 1980 8
2. Distribution of Central American Votes in the United Nations on Issues Related to Jewish Statehood and Israel's Admission to the UN 1947-1949 9
3. Categories of Israeli Military Aid and Assistance 13
4. Status of Diplomatic Relations Between Israel and the Central American Nations December 1985 17
5. Israel's Military Sales to Honduras 1976-1984 35
6. Israel's Military Sales to El Salvador 1973-1982 44
7. Basic Data on Central America 1985 47
8. Israel's Military Sales to Guatemala 1975-1984 50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Central America

PREFACE

This monograph brings together previously unassembled material on Israeli military involvement in Central America from both English and Spanish sources. For those who follow the issue closely, this report offers no new framework; rather it sets forth basic questions and explications, and is meant to generate further discussion. We have included an extensive bibliography to encourage others to investigate further the role of Israel in Central America.

Much of the available information is redundant, i.e., the same facts are found in a dozen articles, all leading back to the same source. We have attempted to provide the best documentation available — or at least the most acceptable to a North American audience. Thus the *New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Time, Newsweek,* NBC, ABC, and CBS are among the sources most often cited. We also sought out Israeli press accounts, newsletters from Central America, and the Mexico City press. We have evaluated the information on Israeli military involvement in the region from our perspective as Central Americanists. We pass over the current conflicts in Central America and refer those interested to existing studies. Although we have read widely on Israeli foreign policy and have consulted more defense related publications than probably was necessary, we recognize that to do justice to this subject requires an intimate knowledge of both Central America *and* the Middle East — particularly internal Israeli policies. Unfortunately, we know of no scholars who specialize in both regions. Also, because of the secret nature of the topic, which we discuss in detail, hard data was difficult to obtain.

We began this project five years ago after seeing a few interesting

newspaper articles on Israeli military sales to Central America. When subsequent newspaper accounts began to indicate increasing Israeli involvement in Central America, we requested material from the Data Center in Oakland, California and began computer searches for additional information. Soon it became apparent that we had "discovered" an important topic — one generally unknown to most North Americans.

Israeli military sales and assistance to the countries of the region are a reality in contemporary Central America. Although sensitive and highly controversial, the issue needs to be confronted and discussed. We hope that our study contributes to that discussion.

We would like to thank all of the people and groups who have aided in our efforts. These include the Data Center, the North American Congress on Latin America, the Central America Resource Center, Philip Russell, Elvira Segura-Langton, Allen Kupetz, Kay Ritchie, Khalil Foutah, Suzanne Fiederlein, John Burnett and Paul Lowry who provided us with information. Thanks to Charlie Clements, Layne Hoppe, Catherine Sims, Zy Weinberg, Karen Judd, Gary MacEoin, Charles Poster, David Yetman, Fayez Mohammed, Margarita Melville, Tom Melville, Chandler Stolp, Michael Conroy, Malcolm Greenstein, George Black and Pat M. Holt, who read and commented on our drafts. Special thanks to Jane Hunter, Cheryl Rubenberg, Joe Stork and Richard N. Adams who not only read our drafts but gave us comments, as well as encouragement, on a regular basis. Thanks also to Mary Onorato, Pat Walsh and Naseer Aruri of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates. While all of the above mentioned helped to make this a better monograph, we, of course, accept final responsibility for what we have written.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Israel's military involvement in Central America is very deep and well documented. It is true that in addition to Israel, other nations sell arms and lend advisors to Central American countries. These nations include the United States, the Soviet Union, Nationalist China, Cuba, France, East and West Germany, Great Britain, Chile, Argentina, Holland, Switzerland, South Africa, South Korea, and Venezuela. But apart from U.S. involvement in the area and the Eastern Bloc's aid to Nicaragua, no country plays as strategic a role in the region as Israel does in Guatemala. Of special relevance is the fact that Israel is the largest recipient of U.S. military aid and a close U.S. ally.

Israeli military involvement in Central America has been seriously underplayed in the U.S. media. A review of the Vanderbilt *Television News Index and Abstracts* reveals that in the eight-year period between 1977 and 1984, the three major U.S. television network nightly news programs (ABC, CBS, and NBC) combined, ran only four stories on the Israeli presence in Central America. On April 23, 1984 NBC looked at Israel's arming of the contras fighting against Nicaragua's Sandinistas.[1] ABC, on December 22, 1983 ran a twenty-second piece on an Israeli arms shipment to Guatemala which was detained in Florida.[2] A March 24, 1982 story on ABC covering the coup which brought General Efrain Rios Montt to power made mention of Israelis training the Guatemalan military.[3] Finally, the longest piece — five minutes — was a CBS news report on February 16, 1982 discussing Israeli military involvement in Guatemala.[4] Twelve minutes of televi-

sion reporting in an eight-year period hardly is calculated to seriously inform the American public.

Although major newspapers have done a better job, only a handful of feature stories allude to Israeli involvement in Central America. Mention of Israel is often buried within a story about the overall Central American situation. Other reporting reflects an ignorance of or a willful decision to exclude this information. In a major *New York Times* story on Guatemala in 1981, reporter Warren Hoge explained how Guatemala was dealing with the U.S. cutoff of military aid initiated in 1977: "The Guatemalans have been resourceful since then, turning to France for aircraft, Argentina for antiguerrilla strategy, South Korea for uniforms, and Yugoslavia for howitzers."[5] Was Hoge, now foreign editor of the *Times*, unaware of Israeli sales of Arava aircraft to Guatemala, or that the Israeli-made Galil rifle had replaced the older U.S.-made model after 1977? Israeli military aid — perhaps the single most crucial factor explaining why Guatemala was getting by nicely without U.S. aid — was omitted by *the* newspaper of record.

A more understandable omission, since it obviously received the approval of the U.S. government, was made by the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, the Kissinger Commission, in its report released in 1984. The commission states that Guatemala had been able to deal with its indigenous guerrilla movement "despite the lack of outside assistance."[6]

Israel's military involvement in Central America is not only a very sensitive political issue, but one shrouded in secrecy as well. An Israeli study released in 1984 stated the problem bluntly: "In the covert and clandestine world of conventional arms salesmanship, discretion is usually prized as essential. And even in the event of press speculation the groundrules call for silence: either denial or no comment."[7]

Despite the limited accessibility of primary sources, enough information can be gleaned from available material to pinpoint heavy Israeli involvement in Central America, much of it in the form of military assistance. Since 1977, Israel has actively supported repressive regimes in Guatemala, Somoza's Nicaragua, and more recently the contras, and it continues to provide military assistance to the governments of Honduras and El Salvador.

This monograph explores Israel's military presence in Central America by trying to answer questions often raised about Israel's role, and by raising questions about the effects of that role on the people of the region.

This study is divided into three parts. Chapter 2 attempts to explain

why Israel provides Central American nations with military assistance. Chapter 3 discusses the specific aspects of that aid in a country-by-country review. Chapter 4 draws some conclusions and looks at the future of Israel's military involvement in Central America.

Notes

1. "NBC Nightly News." Television transcript of report aired 23 April 1984, Fred Francis on assignment in Honduras/Nicaragua.

2. *Television News Index and Abstracts*, 22 December 1983, 2549.

3. Ibid., 24 March 1982, 536.

4. "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather." Television transcript of report aired 16 February 1983, Bob Simon reports from Guatemala.

5. Warren Hoge, "Repression Increases in Guatemala as U.S. Tries to Improve Relations," *New York Times*, 3 May 1981. John Goshko wrote in April 1984 that "the Israelis have given only scant attention to Central America providing some very limited aid projects in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica," *Washington Post*, 21 April 1984.

6. National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, *Report* [Kissinger Commission Report], (Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1984), 30. However, even those critical of U.S. Central American policy often are unaware of Israeli aid to Central America. Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Texas) in remarks on the floor of the House of Representatives in 1985 commented that, "one hundred percent of the guns used in Guatemala right now are American made." *Wall Street Journal*, 5 June 1985.

7. Aharon Klieman, *Israeli Arms Sales: Perspectives and Prospects*, Paper No. 24 (Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, February 1984), 49.

CHAPTER 2

REASONS FOR ISRAEL'S MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA

It's No Secret

During the past decade Israel has played a significant military role in Central America. It was the main supplier of arms to the Somoza regime just prior to its fall in 1979 and it has been the primary supplier of weapons, ammunition, military computer technology and counterinsurgency aid to Guatemala. Why has Israel been willing to sell arms and give advice to a brutal dictatorship and to an army that has slaughtered its own indigenous population and been condemned internationally for having one of the world's worst human rights records?

Although no precise figures on the numbers of weapons sold or the exact tonnages of ammunition delivered are available, there is little doubt that Israeli military aid in Central America has been important to the region's dictatorships. Central American leaders publicly boast of Israeli aid. Officials of the contras fighting against the Nicaraguan government have openly discussed receiving arms from Israel.[1] And Guatemalan Army Chief of Staff, General Rodolfo Lobos Zamora, upon his return from a visit to Israel in late February of 1985, stated that the government of Israel supplies the Guatemalan army, adding "that is why sometimes [Israeli] military personnel come to observe the quality and performance of things we have. . . . It's no secret."[2]

Why Sell Arms?

Before discussing why Israel sells arms and gives advice to countries and political movements in Central America, it is important to state the more general reasons for Israeli arms sales and very briefly outline Israeli foreign policy objectives.

Israeli arms sales analyst, Aharon Klieman, comments that "current arms diplomacy is, first and foremost, an extension of Israel's overall approach to foreign relations."[3] The goals of Israeli foreign policy are integrally tied to the security of the state of Israel and as such are focused on the Middle East. These are basically involved with the security and defense of the state. But, as Klieman points out, these goals also include the "setting up of a worldwide network of mutually beneficial cultural, commercial and diplomatic ties," to offset Israel's Middle East isolation.[4]

He notes that all Israeli governments, Labor or Likud, have shared these basic objectives.[5] How does pursuit of these policy objectives relate to the development of an arms industry? Israelis argue that an indigenous arms industry — or "self-sufficiency" in arms — gives them wider latitude in carrying out their foreign policy. But the only way in which Israel can achieve "self-sufficiency" is to increase its economic dependence on the United States for funds to build its military industry.

How does Israel perceive that its foreign policy objectives are enhanced through arms sales? Klieman outlines what he sees as five diplomatic functions of arms sales:

1. A way to exploit every reasonable opening or advantage.
2. "Preemption by denying Arab adversaries advantages and influence with neutral governments."
3. "An instrument in the service of the US and Western global security."
4. Enhancement of Israel's prestige and reputation by demonstrating "it has something more tangible than moral support to offer friendly countries prepared to deal with it."[6]
5. Influence and political contacts that defense exports provide "with two groups in particular: the professional military who are direct or proximate wielders of authority in so many of the Third World nations: and unique to Israel as the sole Jewish state, the more than ten million Jews residing outside of Israel in over 80 countries."[7]

Many of these reasons are intertwined. The Israeli foreign policy agenda in the Middle East, Israel's acting as a proxy for the U.S. in Central America, and the development of an arms industry in Israel are interrelated.

Why Central America?

The reasons for Israel's military involvement in Central America can be grouped in the following categories: (1) the historical role of the Central American nations in the emergence of the Israeli state; (2) the Israeli arms industry, a cornerstone of the Israeli economy, which desperately needs markets; (3) Israel's diplomatic initiative to win friends and international support; (4) Israel acting as a proxy or surrogate for the United States; and (5) Israel's foreign policy which is not only anti-Arab and anti-PLO, but has adopted much of the Cold War agenda of the United States.

1. *A "Special Relationship"*

Jewish immigration to Central America dates back to the mid nineteenth century when German Jews settled in Guatemala. Jewish communities in Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica were not established until the 1920s.[8] Today, the overwhelming majority of Central American Jews reside in urban areas and are involved in the commercial sector.[9]

Israel's interest in Central America, however, does not stem from the presence of the Jewish community in the region. In fact, as illustrated in Table 1, there are only about 5,000 Jews in all six Central American countries out of a total population of over 20,000,000.

The roots of Israel's special relationship go back to the roles played by Nicaragua and later Guatemala in the Zionist struggle for statehood. In 1939, Anastasio Somoza Garcia, father of Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the Nicaraguan dictator who was overthrown in 1979, facilitated the purchase of weapons which were ostensibly for Nicaragua, but which actually were shipped to Palestine where the Haganah (the pre-state Israeli military) was attempting to force the Palestinians to leave and was also battling the British who were administrating Palestine at the time.[10] Later in 1948, Somoza provided Nicaraguan passports to Haganah agents and authorized the transfer of arms bought on the world market to the Zionists.[11] The Somozas continued to help the Zionists obtain arms after the state of

Table 1

Estimated Jewish Populations in Central America 1980

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population
Belize	150,000	—
Costa Rica	2,286,000	1,900/2,500
El Salvador	4,813,000	410/350
Guatemala	7,022,700	500/2,000
Honduras	3,595,000	210/200
Nicaragua	2,733,000	200/200
Totals	20,599,700	3,220/5,250

Sources: Central American population figures are from James W. Wilkie and Adam Perkal, eds., *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, vol. 23 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1984). The population figure for Belize is from *Belize 1980 Population Census* (Belmopan, Belize: Statistical Office, May 1982).

Two figures are given for the estimates of Jewish populations. The first is from Wilkie and Perkal, the second from *The Zionist Yearbook, 1981/82* (London: The Zionist Federation Educational Trust, 1981). The *American Jewish Yearbook 1984* (New York and Philadelphia: The American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Publications Society of America) cites a figure of 2,200 Jews in Costa Rica and 900 in Guatemala and lumps all other Central American countries together in a category called Central America, but which also includes Mexico and the Caribbean. There are no estimates available on the Jewish population of Belize but it is not likely to exceed 100 persons.

Israel was formed. In *Shimon Peres: A Biography*, writer Matti Golan cites a 1956 incident in which the Vickers Corporation of Great Britain received an order for twenty Centurion tanks from a large company in Nicaragua. The Israeli embassy in London reported at the time that the order was not filled "due to the suspicion that the tanks were destined for Israel and the [Nicaraguan] company was merely serving as an agent."[12]

Guatemala played a much more crucial and open role for the Zionists. Latin America's support for Israel in the 1940s was critical since the twenty Latin American countries constituted a third of the then sixty-member United Nations General Assembly[13] (Table 2). Within that bloc, Guatemala's position proved to be pivotal.

In 1947, faced with growing Arab resistance to the Zionist struggle to create a Jewish state in Palestine, Great Britain turned the issue of the disposition of Palestine over to the United Nations where a special committee, UNSCOP (United Nations Special Committee on

Palestine), was formed. Among the appointees to the committee was Guatemala's Jorge Garcia Granados, a diplomat in the reformist Arevalo government. The UNSCOP recommended an end to the British mandate over Palestine and proposed, with Garcia Granados' strong support, the principle of partition.[14]

UNSCOP delegation members visited Palestine and were much impressed with the fervor, ideals, and hard work of the Jews in their attempt to build a national homeland. Garcia Granados was moved by the children orphaned by Nazi brutality given new lives on collective farms. He was convinced that the kibbutz was the model of "the best sociological instrument with which to develop the agriculture of backward countries."[15] The Guatemalan diplomat equated the Zionist attempt at statehood with the struggle against colonialism. "Imagine the elation, the sense of delighted discovery that possessed me, when I discovered that here, in Palestine, all I had dreamed for the small state was being done."[16] To Garcia Granados, Israel and Guatemala shared the same goal; to deny the Jews a homeland would be akin to denying Guatemala's right to just and democratic reforms. Equating the changes he witnessed in Palestine with the aims of a progressive Guatemala, Garcia Granados committed himself wholeheartedly to push for Israel's nationhood.

Guatemala became the second country, after the United States, to recognize the state of Israel,[17] and in 1955 was the first Latin American country to set up a mission in Jerusalem.[18] From 1947 to 1968, Nicaragua and Costa Rica joined Guatemala in their unwaver-

Table 2

Distribution of Central American Votes in the United Nations on Issues Related to Jewish Statehood and Israel's Admission to the United Nations 1947-1949

Country	Pro-Israel Votes	Anti-Israel Votes	Abstentions	Absences
Costa Rica	9	0	0	3
El Salvador	3	2	5	2
Guatemala	9	0	3	0
Honduras	8	0	4	0
Nicaragua	9	0	2	1

Source: Adapted from Michael Rubner, *Israel and Latin America: The Politics of Bilateral Economic Aid* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 244.

ing support for Israel, occupying "2nd, 3rd, and 4th . . . places respectively on the scale of Latin American support at the U.N."[19]

Following statehood, Israel maintained cordial relations with the Latin American countries. More active ties with Central American nations did not materialize until after 1960 when, anxious to improve its image in Latin America, partly as a result of the kidnapping of Adolph Eichmann by Israeli agents in Argentina, Israel embarked on a program of technical assistance and cooperation.[20] Kaufman, Shapira and Barromi report that "friendly relations with Latin America assumed great importance after the rupture of diplomatic relations with African, Eastern European and some Asian countries" following the 1967 war.[21]

While some observers have characterized the primary political objectives of such assistance and cooperation projects in Latin America as the "maintenance and strengthening of good bilateral relations . . . and the creation of a positive image with the Latin American public as well as bolstering 'good will,' "[22] perhaps a more revealing motive can be found in the statement of an Israeli official: "Israel has not forgotten the role which the Latin American states had played in the 1947 session of the United Nations General Assembly . . . Israel has thus begun to repay the debt which it had owed to Latin America by sending its experts to various countries in the Western Hemisphere."[23] Whatever the motivations, these early technical assistance and cooperation projects set the stage for further contacts that were to take on an increasingly militaristic tinge.

Between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s, Central America played host to a number of Israel's technical assistance projects. Most were of an agricultural, cooperative and "civic action" nature. Israeli advisors introduced methods of field inspection and pest-control techniques to combat cotton pests in El Salvador in 1965 and 1966.[24] In conjunction with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Organization of American States (OAS), Israel provided "mobile teams" made up of experts in economics, microplanning, physical planning and field crops. The mobile team was based in Guatemala and participated in "training counterparts in all other Central American states [and] planned and executed several model settlement projects in Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Costa Rica, and El Salvador."[25] Shimeon Amir refers to specific projects undertaken with Israeli cooperation, e.g., in Costa Rica, agricultural training at the National Institute for Vocational Training, and an irrigation project and the establishment of vegetable cooperatives in Guatemala.[26]

Israeli advisors also participated in the organization of youth movements and youth leadership training, notably in Costa Rica (1966-1969), and El Salvador (1972). Costa Rica's Movimiento Nacional de Juventud "was active in the rural areas in the form of voluntary clubhouses, and its activities included volunteer work camps."[27] The goal of these programs was to incorporate young people "into socially productive activity,"[28] instilling in them a sense of social and national consciousness. Elements of Israel's Gadna paramilitary youth organizations were adapted to the Central American programs by Israeli personnel from the Israeli Ministry of Defense who acted as trainers and advisors.

Contact between the Israeli military and defense establishment and Central American youth had been made as early as 1964. That year, fifty-two young people from eleven Latin American countries, including some Central American, traveled to Israel at the invitation of the Ministry of Defense to participate in a seminar on the objectives and organization of the Gadna and Nahal (military-agricultural settlements).[29] The Nahal concept has been applied in a number of Latin American countries, including El Salvador, with the goal of "building a positive and constructive image of the armed forces in their respective nations."[30] One young Guatemalan on the tour, a lieutenant in the infantry, was so impressed by the training Israeli youth received, that he was prompted to write an article which appeared in a Guatemalan military journal detailing the curriculum of such courses.[31]

These early contacts between the Israeli military and the Central American militaries, and the combining of the military structure with cooperatives and civic action programs, especially in the field of agriculture, are very important. In most Central American nations (the exceptions being Belize and Costa Rica), the security forces, primarily the military, are the dominant power groups. In Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala the military usually controls the government. In those few instances where there have been civilian governments, the military has played the decisive role behind the scenes. In the 1980s in both El Salvador and Guatemala, Israeli inspiration and advisors have been instrumental in the construction of "model villages"—an integral component of the counterinsurgency programs. The participation of Israeli military and defense personnel in these early "familiarization tours," as well as in the youth movements and youth leadership courses, helped to lay the foundation for future interaction with Central American military officers.

After the 1967 war and occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, the Sinai and the Golan Heights, Israel became more isolated internationally. This led to the rapid expansion of the Israeli arms industry and the need for markets. Shortly thereafter, Israel's "special relationship" with Central America took on more overt military proportions.

2. *The Israeli Arms Industry*

Israel has developed a sizeable arms industry. Weapons production employs from an estimated 18 to 25 percent of the industrial work force—at least 58,000 people—and, according to a censored 1983 report from the United States General Accounting Office, accounts for $1.2 billion in annual sales.[32] The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency gives the total Israeli export figure for 1982 as $5.6 billion, which means that arms sales account for at least 20 per cent of all Israeli exports.[33] In short, the arms industry, including foreign weapons sales, has become a cornerstone of the Israeli economy.[34]

Much has been written about the Israeli arms industry, and we do not want to duplicate those efforts here.[35] However, sufficient basic information about the Israeli arms industry should be presented to help explain the sale of Israeli war materiel to Central America.

The Israelis made a decision to enter into large-scale arms production soon after the formation of the state in 1948. Arms production and foreign arms sales are policies that have been followed and encouraged by every Israeli government and are not an aberration of the Likud government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. As Klieman points out, the Likud "represents more of a reinforcement and acceleration of the previously existing pro-arms orientation than a fresh policy initiative identified with any leader, political ideology or government. Israel in the role of arms supplier predates the Begin era. Foreign military assistance, of which the sale of weapons is a major component, is a deeply entrenched national practice. It is not, therefore, in any way a new brand of Israeli diplomacy or a departure from pre-1977 practices."[36]

Israel has been described as the world's seventh largest arms dealer.[37] The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) lists Israel as the leading Third World arms exporting country in the period between 1970 and 1979.[38] Is it necessary for Israel to have such a large arms industry? The Israelis argue that they require a regular and dependable supply of weapons to provide for their own security and defense. This, they believe, can best be achieved by self-sufficiency in weapons and production.

Table 3

Categories of Israeli Military Aid and Assistance

Aviation	Aircraft	Maintenance
	Helicopters	Airfield equipment
Boats	Naval craft	
	Weapons	
Ordnance	Small Arms	Tear gas
	Ammunition	Hand grenades
Armor	Military vehicles	
	Tanks	
Communications	Communications equipment	Radar
	Command and control systems	Electronics
Optics	Power supplies	Laser rangefinders
	Night vision equipment	
Personal gear	Helmets	Gas masks
	Tents	Protective clothing
Security equipment	Military support equipment	
	Field security equipment	
	Intruder detection equipment	

Source: Aaron Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach: Arms Sales as Diplomacy* (New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985), 76-77.

As was pointed out above, Israel is not self-sufficient. Although successful in producing some indigenous weapons systems, Harkavy and Neuman, as well as Peri and Neubach, argue that even with the massive amounts of money, technology, and manpower devoted to the arms industry, Israel still depends on the United States for both necessary advanced technology and financial assistance.[39]

Klieman points to three military and defense functions that weapons sales serve. First, the weapons sold are only a by-product of weapons built for local needs. Second, strategic planning is facilitated since the arms industry plants can operate at full capacity and, finally, arms sales help to pay for research and development costs. In sum, arms sales enable Israel to produce weapons that otherwise it could not afford, while simultaneously providing employment for a significant portion of the labor force.[40]

For Israel the weapons trade has become essential. Klieman reports that "export sales account for something resembling half of the total value of defense equipment production. And should reduced local pur-

chasing continue, the proportion seems bound to rise further, implying even greater dependence on the arms trade."[41]

The Israelis offer a wide range of military equipment and advice — from computer technology for military use to aircraft (Table 3). The most popular items are the Galil assault rifle and the Uzi submachine gun, as well as Israeli advice in the field of counterinsurgency and computer technology for use in social control. Klieman divides Israeli arms exports into four phases. The first involves the sale of second-hand equipment, the second the provision of military training and advice, and a third is the sale of more conspicuous items such as boats and planes.[42] The first two categories have been most applicable to Central America. But it is Klieman's fourth category that is probably Israel's most important military contribution to Central America. In the 1980s Israeli "exports of technological know-how, data packages, and the most sophisticated electronics, computer programs, and optical components of direct or indirect military application have met with singular success in finding a ready market."[43] He notes, "less conspicuous and therefore less politically sensitive, such scientific items are highly promising."[44]

How is Israeli arms sales policy made? Peri and Neubach argue that "Israel's arms export policy is not characterized by any overall strategy stemming from an orderly decision making process. It is marked, rather, by ad hoc decisions which are taken in the context of a highly sympathetic climate for this policy in the military-industrial complex. The entire sphere of arms exports is hidden from public view, and usually from that of the Knesset as well."[45] Arms sales decisions are dominated by the Israeli defense ministry. Primarily for economic reasons, Klieman argues, there has been a blanket decision to sell arms rather than an attempt to justify each individual sale.[46] Klieman recently expressed concern that the Israeli economy had become "dangerously dependent" on the weapons trade.[47] "Without sales to the Third World, it is fairly safe to assume that some of the industries at home would collapse."[48]

Due to the secret nature of arms sales and arms sales decision-making, it often is not possible to distinguish between Israeli government sales, retired or reserve Israeli military officers offering private contract services, private Israeli companies selling military technology or helping to construct armaments plants through joint licensing projects, or private Israeli arms merchants such as David Marcos Katz. Then, of course, it is always possible that the Israeli government may disguise arms sales by using one of these parties.

Concerning private weapons salesmen, Klieman notes, "their operations disguise the trail of at least some Israeli arms, which are 'laundered' and resold through a maze of fictitious companies in different countries."[49]

The market for Israeli arms is rather limited. With all Arab and most socialist states buying elsewhere, Third World countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America have become Israel's biggest potential clients. There is intense competition among arms selling nations, which include the major industrial powers as well as Third World states such as Brazil. The Israelis have been successful in the arms trade because of their ability to provide weapons and equipment at a cost lower than that of the major powers.[50] Further, Israel can boast that most of its merchandise has been combat tested. "Israel's credibility as a military power [has] engendered confidence in the equipment used by its own armed forces."[51] Thus, despite the competitive nature of the arms business, and the presence of local producers such as Brazil, Latin America today accounts for about half of all Israeli military sales.[52] Because the South American military establishments are larger and their markets, even for expensive Israeli aircraft, greater, the Central American portion of total exports is relatively small. Nonetheless, Israeli arms sales are critical to countries such as Guatemala.

The Israeli arms industry provides jobs and foreign exchange and thus has a substantial constituency in Israel. The industry relies on foreign sales to make itself viable. As Klieman notes: "Were the military assistance and sales program to be terminated entirely or even in part, whether voluntarily by Israel as a conscious government decision, perhaps on moral grounds, or because arms diplomacy was no longer effective in opening relationships, this would have the most adverse consequences for both the economy and society of Israel."[53]

3. *Arms Sales As Diplomacy*

From the Israeli's standpoint, a major reason for its arms sales abroad is to gain allies. Arms diplomacy is only an extension of their overall approach to foreign policy.[54] Politically, say Harkavy and Neuman, "the transfer of Israeli-produced arms has proven useful for acquiring and cementing friendships outside the Middle East."[55] On the diplomatic front, the sale of military equipment has drawn Israel closer to governments such as South Africa and Guatemala, which, like Israel, have been the targets of international censure and political isolation.[56]

For countries so different in antecedents and cultural histories, and

so geographically separated, Israel and the Central American nations have indeed been quite "friendly." With the exception of Nicaragua, all of the other Central American nations maintain diplomatic relations with Israel. Nicaragua, whose relations with Israel were strained after 1979 (Israel was the main provider of weapons to the Somoza dictatorship in the last months before its overthrow), nevertheless maintained diplomatic relations until Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

The closest of Israel's diplomatic allies in the region are El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Guatemala. In fact, the only two countries in the world which maintain their embassies in Jerusalem are El Salvador and Costa Rica.[57] Following an announcement in August of 1983 which made public El Salvador's plan to move its embassy from Tel Aviv, the two countries agreed to support each other at the United Nations. Prior to this pact, El Salvador had voted in favor of Palestinian participation in Middle East negotiations and supported having the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.[58] The *Washington Post* reported that "the arrangement also includes hopes in the Salvadoran government that the influential pro-Israel lobby in the United States will lend a discreet hand in congressional debates over the wisdom of the [Reagan] Administration policy on Central America."[59] It is also Klieman's view that, in purchasing arms from Israel, a country views its "ties with Israel as the key to the influential American Jewish community and thus as a way to create a favorable climate and image for its standing with the United States."[60]According to Klieman, Third World leaders assume "they will have better prospects of gaining an appreciative ear among U.S. congressmen for their own requests for economic and security assistance by cultivating ties with Israel, including at the military level. In exploiting such perceptions Israeli diplomats are not above suggesting the purchase of its military goods as an acceptable and fair quid pro quo for using the near-legendary strength of the pro-Israel lobby in the Congress and its influence with the American Jewish community on behalf of the arms client."[61]

The position of the Central American countries has not been without costs to them. Costa Rica first established its embassy in Jerusalem, moved to Tel Aviv in 1980, and then moved it back to Jerusalem in May 1982.[62] In April of 1984, Egypt announced that it was breaking diplomatic relations with both El Salvador and Costa Rica over the presence of those countries' embassies in Jerusalem.[63] Guatemala was the first country to set up its diplomatic mission in Jerusalem, but its embassy was moved back to Tel Aviv in 1980 after

Table 4

Status of Diplomatic Relations Between Israel and the Central American Nations December 1985

	Diplomatic Relations	Location of Embassy in Israel
Belize	yes	no embassy
Costa Rica	yes	Jerusalem
El Salvador	yes	Jerusalem
Guatemala	yes	Tel Aviv
Honduras	yes	Tel Aviv
Nicaragua	no	—

a United Nations resolution urged its member states to do so, and after Kuwait, Jordan and Saudi Arabia threatened a boycott of Guatemalan cardamom. The spice brings Guatemala some $70 million in revenue, most of it from the Arab countries.[64] In March 1985, three presidential candidates in Guatemala, Vinicio Cerezo, Mario Sandoval and Jorge Serrano, promised to continue to improve relations with Israel. Sandoval, leader of the extreme right-wing, National Liberation Movement party, and reputed founder of the "death squads" in Guatemala, promised, if elected, to move the Guatemalan embassy back to Jerusalem.[65] Because Cerezo won that election, the Guatemalan embassy is likely to remain in Tel Aviv.

During an offical visit to Israel in August 1985, Honduran Foreign Minister Edgardo Paz Barnica said his government intended to open an embassy in Tel Aviv before the year's end.[66] And by year's end Honduras had opened an embassy in Tel Aviv. [67]

Belize and Israel signed an agreement establishing diplomatic relations in September of 1984. This event raised some eyebrows in Belize because Israel supplies weapons to Guatemala, which has laid claim to and, on more than one occasion, threatened to invade the former British territory.[68] When asked in March 1985 if Belize were interested in asking for military assistance from Israel, the newly elected prime minister, Manuel Esquivel, replied "No. We have not considered that."[69] Belize's defense presently is provided for by the British. Belizean officials explain that their main interest in establishing relations with Israel is the availability of flexible Israeli technical assistance programs. Ironically, Israel was one of eight nations which abstained

during the 1980 United Nations General Assembly vote of 139 to 0 vote in favor of Belizean independence.[70] But the Belizean government has been quick to give diplomatic support to Israel. Prime Minister Esquivel voiced his support for the concept of "secure borders" for the state of Israel in his first address to the United Nations in October 1985.[71]

Israel's attempt to gain "friends" in Central America, through a calculated policy of giving military assistance and selling arms to those states who will support its diplomatic agenda in the Middle East, seems to have paid off in some part, although clearly other factors have made it difficult to call its arms diplomacy an unqualified success.

4. ***Israel As Proxy or Surrogate for the United States***

In selling arms to Central American countries is Israel acting as a surrogate for the United States? While Israel has its own agenda and is not just an "errand boy" for the U.S., the two countries do share certain foreign policy objectives in Central America. In Guatemala, their policies closely coincide. A Reagan administration offical referred to the complementarity of U.S. and Israeli policy in the region as a "convergence of interests."[72]

The Memorandum of Understanding on "strategic cooperation" signed by U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Israeli Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon on November 30, 1981, provides the framework for this type of situation. Although suspended soon after, it was revived in November 1983. According to the memorandum, the U.S. could grant third countries permission to spend part of their U.S. military credits in Israel.[73] There is also the possibility that U.S. funds earmarked for Central America are hidden within aid packages to Israel. The *Washington Post* reported in 1984 that the U.S. might use part of the $2.5 billion in military and economic aid for Israel to repay that country for its assistance to the contras.[74] While it has been impossible to confirm this report, such a measure would allow the U.S. to openly maintain a policy of not providing arms to the contras, but still assure that arms are sent.

In April 1984 Israeli Foreign Ministry Director General David Kimche visited Washington to meet with Reagan administration officials on a U.S. plan to set up a special fund to finance Israeli aid to Central American and African countries.[75] Israeli social scientist Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi comments that such a plan has two important benefits for Israel: "It gains contacts in the Third World, and becomes a more indispensable ally for the United States."[76] The

Washington Post attributed the impetus of the plan to the Israelis and noted that "the proposal has prompted speculation here and in Israel that such a fund might be used to bypass Congress' cutoff of U.S. covert action funds for the contra forces."[77]

Israel's role as proxy oftentimes has produced conflicting or contradictory statements from Israeli government officials. Israel's Washington spokesman, Victor Harel, stated in 1984: "We are not American surrogates in Central America or anywhere else."[78] Only a few years earlier in 1981, however, Israeli Minister of Economic Planning Ya'acov Meridor declared that Israel, in fact, was willing to act as a proxy for the United States.[79]

Leslie Gelb of the *New York Times* reported in 1982 that in 1981 Secretary of State Alexander Haig "prompted" Israel to send aid to Guatemala (until the U.S. could disentangle itself from the restrictions the Carter administration had adopted because of Guatemala's gross human rights abuses). Israel "needed no prompting." According to Gelb, Israel does not keep Washington apprised of its military and intelligence role in Central America as a matter of course. At least one "high" State Department official at the time did not mind being kept in the dark about Israel's presence in the region: "We've indicated we're not unhappy they are helping out. But I wouldn't say we and the Israelis have figured out together what to do."[80] In 1983 *Time* quoted U.S. officials to the effect that "Israel occasionally makes life easier for them by supplying arms to regimes that the Reagan Administration feels it cannot support so strongly or so openly."[81]

Aharon Klieman detects a dilemma that Israel faces when acting as proxy for the U.S. "The excessive use of Israel as a surrogate in extending U.S. and Western military assistance, in Latin America for example, could prove embarrassing in two ways. Pressure from Washington on Israel to act as supplier to dubious regimes nevertheless deemed worthy of being propped up against local subversion would be difficult for Jerusalem to resist repeatedly, especially if presented in terms of the least the United States might have the right to expect of its Israeli ally or if presented as a quid pro quo. Repeated acquiescence, on the other hand, would identify Israel too directly and too closely with the United States, branding it as a sword-bearer for American or Western interests."[82]

In one case of close U.S.-Israeli cooperation in Central America, in July 1983, official Reagan administration sources were quoted as saying that Honduras would receive a shipment of Israeli-captured PLO weapons for use by Nicaraguan contras. Israel's offer to Honduras

was made "at the request of the United States," and intensified Israeli participation in the U.S. plan to shore up "friendly" governments in the region that permit the contras to carry out destabilizing operations. "Israel's coordination with the Americans marks a departure from its previous activities in Central America as an independent supplier of arms. The new role brings Israel closer to acting as a surrogate for the United States." While U.S. officials were busy describing Israel's expanded role in Central America in this way, one Israeli diplomat denied that Israel's activities were related in any way to U.S. foreign policy in the region.[83]

A higher profile in Central America for Israel would suit U.S. policymakers even better because it would help add legitimacy to current U.S. policy: "The Administration would like to see Israel encourage its own supporters in the Congress, the Jewish community and elsewhere to become more assertive in backing the contras."[84] While U.S. military sales to the region are scrutinized closely in the Congress, Israel can get the job done with less domestic protest. Even members of Congress opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America are hesitant to criticize Israeli participation, fearful of alienating their constituency, angering Israeli lobbies, or of being labeled anti-Semitic.[85]

Whether Israel acts as a surrogate for the United States in Central America, or there is simply a "convergence of interests," the fact is that if the U.S. did not approve of Israeli military sales and advice to "friendly" Central American governments, it certainly would attempt to pressure Israel into curtailing its military involvement in the region. But as long as U.S.-Israeli relations remain too controversial to discuss, the U.S. will use Israel to pursue its objectives in Central America.[86] In effect, Israel's activity in Central America places control of U.S. foreign policy in Central America further out of the reach of many Americans.

5. *Israel and the Cold War Mentality*

One of the main reasons for Israeli and U.S. convergence on Central America is ideological. Israel sees the left-of-center opposition groups in Central America as too sympathetic to the PLO. Israel has defined Nicaragua, because of its relations with the PLO, as a potential enemy, and has been willing to work with the U.S. against the Sandinista government. Similarily, any group, no matter how moderate or reasonable their cause, that has any relations with the PLO is considered a potential enemy of Israel. The Israelis are will-

ing to lend their technical expertise and sell military equipment to governments facing these movements. While this anti-PLO dimension to Israeli foreign policy is not new, in the late 1960s Israel began to adopt a more Cold War-inspired agenda.

Israel's emergence as an arms merchant has escalated in the period since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. As one observer notes: "Israel adopted a distinctly more aggressive and ambitious foreign and military policy, not only with regard to its Palestinian and Arab neighbors but on a global scale."[87]

Inasmuch as Israeli foreign policy is shaped within a Cold War framework, it begins to coincide more closely with the foreign policy goals of the United States. Some observers attribute this shift to an increasing anti-communist position of the Israelis. Kaufman comments: "In the polarized context of present day Central America, arms supplies to only one side clearly put Israel in the anti-communist camp."[88] Goodgame points out that Israel sells weapons to regimes who share its determination to fight the "spread of communism."[89] Klieman sees the Israelis as clearly anti-Soviet and anti-communist.[90]

But given the Israeli's less than hostile relations with the Soviet Union, anti-communism is not a sufficient explanation to account for Israeli alignment with the U.S. on most foreign policy issues. The reality is simplistic, yet more profoundly connected to Israel's lifeline — the United States. It is likely that Israel has decided that the best way to ensure its alliance with the U.S. in the Middle East and to have the most influence over U.S. Middle East policy is to tie itself into the Cold War anti-communist consensus — making itself a "strategic asset" to the United States in the global crusade against communism. Klieman comments: "Arms support for various pro-Western regimes is part of what Israeli representatives allude to when describing Israel as a proven strategic asset — a fact better known to Pentagon and State Department officials from classified documents than to the American public at large."[91]

Israel has in recent years developed a close alliance with Pentagon planners and defense contractors, supplying them with information on its wars in the Middle East. Israel also is producing weapons for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and internationally has become important for U.S. strategic planners through NATO. The weight of the defense contractors acting as a lobby for Israel, when combined with conservative Christian fundamentalists and domestic Jewish support, makes for a very powerful array of forces. These same forces — with the U.S. Jewish community divided on the issue — sup-

port Israel's efforts in Central America. Thus, when Israel adopts the Cold War agenda of the U.S. in Central America, it pleases not only the Reagan administration, but its friends in the defense establishment and in fundamentalist Christian circles as well. Beit-Hallahmi ask the questions "Do the Israelis really identify with U.S. policies? Do they see the world as the United States sees it?" His answer is a "qualified yes."[92]

There is ample evidence that Israel has sold arms to nations that are gross violators of human rights. The Israelis also understand very clearly what kind of governments are buying their arms. Klieman notes that the "purchaser is likely to be a non-western country with a defense-conscious government, rightist in orientation, in which the military is either the actual or proximate locus of power."[93] The human rights concerns that have caused the U.S. Congress to place restrictions on U.S. arms sales and assistance in Central America play no evident role in Israeli foreign policy concerns. This has proved to be extremely helpful to the U.S.

In sum, the Israelis have adopted the Cold War agenda of the United States, which requires them to act as a surrogate for the U.S. in Central America. We argue that they have not done this out of an overriding fear of communism, nor out of an intense interest in Central America. The Israelis have been willing to adopt that agenda because it ingratiates them to the U.S., increases their image as a "strategic asset," and helps to insure the continued enormous economic support from the United States ($4.5 billion in 1986).

Conclusion

No single, simplistic answer can sufficiently explain Israel's complex military-related foreign policy, nor its enormous dependence on the United States. Rather, it is a combination of the above five factors that help to explain Israeli arms sales and military assistance to Central America. In the concluding chapter we will return to these points. In Chapter 3 we will examine the levels of assistance Israel has provided and what this has meant in the context of Central America.

Notes

1. "NBC Nightly News," Television transcript. Fred Francis on assignment in Honduras/Nicaragua, 23 April 1984.

2. "Israeli Aid 'No Secret,' " *Enfoprensa* (Washington, D.C.), 8 March 1985, 2. Lobos Zamora has also received training in the U.S. at Ft. Benning, Georgia. George Black, "Under the Gun," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 19, no. 6 (November/December 1985):12.

3. Aharon Klieman, *Israeli Arms Sales: Perspectives and Prospects*, Paper No. 24 (Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, February 1984), 17.

4. Aaron Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach: Arms Sales As Diplomacy* (New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985), 35.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid. Klieman notes that "for a people that previously had been an object of ridicule and a symbol for powerlessness, the accomplishments of the Jewish state in the realm of international defense and security affairs is of no trivial importance in the total picture of Israel among the nations."

7. Klieman, 1984, 17-18.

8. For more detail see Judith Laikin Elkin, *Jews of the Latin American Republics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1980 and *Comunidades judias de Latinoamerica, 1971-72* (Buenos Aires: Oficina Sudamericana del Comite Judio Americano, 1974). See also *El judio en Costa Rica* (San Jose: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 1974).

9. "Jews Fleeing Central America," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson), 17 May 1980; see also Elkin, *Jews of the Latin American Republics*, 192-193.

10. "A Backward Glance: Reckoning Israel's Debt to the Somozas," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 1 (December 1984): 3.

11. Edy Kaufman, Yoram Shapira, and Joel Barromi, *Israel-Latin American Relations* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1979). 108. Francisco Urcuyo Malinano, a Somoza ally, claims that Anastasio Somoza Garcia was introduced to Teddy Kolleck and that this was the connection by which Nicaragua began to purchase arms that were sent to Israel. Urcuyo also claims that Somoza gave $8 million to the Zionists. *Solos: las ultimas 43 horas en el bunker de Somoza* (Guatemala: Editorial Academica Centro Americana, 1979), 83-84.

12. Matti Golan, *Shimon Peres: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 46.

13. Regina Sharif, "Latin America and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1977): 99.

14. For detail on the Garcia Granados role in Palestine see Cheryl Rubenberg, "Guatemala and Israel: Arms Aid and Counterinsurgency." *MERIP Middle East Reports*, no. 140 (May/June 1986): 16-22.

15. Jorge Garcia Granados, *The Birth of Israel: The Drama as I Saw It* (New York: Knopf, 1948), 102.

16. Ibid., 111.

17. Nathaniel Lorch, "Latin America and Israel," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 22 (Winter 1982): 72.

18. Kaufman, Shapira and Barromi, 214.

19. Ibid., 135.

20. Ibid., 97.

21. Ibid., 94.

22. Yoram Shapira, "Israel's International Cooperation Program With Latin America: The Political Angle," *Inter American Economic Affairs* 30, no. 2 (Fall 1976): 12.

23. Quoted in Michael Rubner, "Israel and Latin America: The Politics of Bilateral Aid" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 227. The Israeli development programs in Africa resulted in an Israeli military-intelligence network which has been traded to Western intelligence agencies in return for favors for Israel. To a lesser extent, the same trade-offs have occurred in Central America.

24. Shimeon Amir, *Israel's Development Cooperation With Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 18.

25. Rubner, 90.

26. Amir, 104.

27. Ibid., 40.

28. Shapira, 10.

29. Jorge Mario Reyes, "Israel, un pais que se preocupa por su juventud," *Revista Militar* (Guatemala), 50 (October-November-December 1965): 30.

30. Kaufman, Shapira and Barromi, 104. See also Klieman, 1985, 20.

31. Reyes, 32-45.

32. *Draft of a Proposed Report U.S. Assistance to the State of Israel*, prepared by the staff of the U.S. General Accounting Office, 1983. The entire uncensored report is reprinted in Mohamed El-Khawas and Samir Abed-Rabbo, *American Aid to Israel: Nature and Impact* (Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1984). The reference is to the uncensored version, 157.

33. *The World Factbook* 1984 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1984), 113. The CIA book does not give a figure for Israeli arms exports. Israel Shahak uses a figure of 40 percent for arms as the percentage of total Israeli exports in *Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression* (Belmont, Massachusetts: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1982), 15, while the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's figures range from 2.5 percent in 1980 to 7.4 percent in 1982 (*World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1985*, 109). The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's figures are much too low. For example, they give a figure of $220 million for Israeli arms exports in 1983, while export figures for the Israel Aircraft Industries alone in 1983-84 total $500 million (Klieman, 1985, 79). From the information available to the public, it is clear that Israeli arms sales comprise at least 20 percent of all the country's exports, but this figure could be considerably higher.

34. Robert E. Harkavy and Stephanie G. Neuman, "Israel," in *Arms Production in Developing Countries: An Analysis of Decision Making*, edited by James Everett Katz (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath, 1984), 195.

35. Five very useful sources are Harkavy and Neuman; Klieman, 1985; Esther Howard, "Israel: The Sorcerer's Apprentice," *MERIP Reports*, no. 12 (February 1983); Bishara Bahbah, *The Military Dimension in Israeli-Latin American Relations* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1986), and Yoram Peri and Amnon Neubach, *The Military Industrial Complex in Israel: A Pilot Study* (Tel Aviv: International Center for Peace in the Middle East, 1985).

36. Klieman, 1985, 25.

37. Stephen S. Rosenfeld, "From Washington," *Present Tense*, Summer 1984: 38. The 1981 *SIPRI Yearbook* places Israel eleventh, 188. Shahak cites Israel as the seventh largest arms dealer (Shahak, 15), while the *Israeli Economist* says Israel was probably as high as tenth, but by 1984 was twelfth. ("Selling Defense," July 1984, 21-23.) Klieman, 1985: 207.

38. *SIPRI Yearbook 1981*, 116.

39. Ibid., 81. See also Harkavy and Neuman. It is important to note that the U.S. and Israel often compete on the world weapons market and the Israelis compete directly with U.S. companies for sales to the U.S. military. Thus it was interesting to note that when a pilotless reconnaissance plane, known as a drone, crashed in El Salvador in August 1985, the Israelis were relieved that it was not one they had sold. Wolf Blitzer notes, "Thus Israel's efforts to export its drones to the U.S. were indirectly boosted when its major U.S. competition suffered this setback in El Salvador." *Jerusalem Post*, 25 August 1985.

40. Klieman, 1984, 19-20.

41. Ibid., 22.

42. Klieman, 1985, 25.

43. Ibid., 25-26.

44. Ibid., 26.

45. Peri and Neubach, 78.

46. Klieman, 1984, 12. For more detail see Klieman, 1985, Chapter 6, "How Arms Policy is Made in Israel."

47. Daniel Southerland, "Israel's Economy Said to Depend Heavily on Export of Weapons," *Washington Post*, 22 March 1985.

48. Klieman, 1985, 114.

49. Ibid., 119. See also Victor Perera, "Uzi Diplomacy: How Israel Makes Friends and Enemies Around the World," *Mother Jones*, July 1985, 44; and "Israelis Find Themselves in Demand As Mercenaries," *Dallas Times Herald*, 8 September 1985.

50. It can be argued that the Israelis can compete so successfully because of the large subsidies they receive from the U.S. The 1983 GAO report concluded that "Israel is heavily dependent on U.S. financial and technical support to achieve its own arms production capability." U.S. General Accounting Office, *U.S. Assistance to the State of Israel: Report by the Comptroller General of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: GAO, 24 June 1983), 42.

51. Kaufman, Shapira and Barromi, 105.

52. Harkavy and Neuman, 204. This was true until recently when large Israeli military sales reportedly were made to Iran and China.

53. Klieman, 1984, 34.

54. Ibid., 17.

55. Harkavy and Neuman, 202.

56. Ibid., 203.

57. "An Israeli Connection?," *Time*, 7 May 1984, 75. In 1985 Zaire refused an Israeli request to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. "Zaire's Mobutu: I Might Go Back to Israel," *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, 1, no. 8 (July/August 1985): 6. Also in 1985 Israeli foreign ministry sources reported that the administration of Uruguay's new President Sanguinetti might relocate its embassy to Jerusalem "following the example of Costa Rica and El Salvador." "Regional/Israel," *Latin America Weekly Report*, 2 August 1985, 12.

Klieman (1985, 38) notes that "such recent triumphs of Israeli statecraft as the resumption of diplomatic relations with Zaire, Liberia, and Sri Lanka, together with the decision by the governments of El Salvador and Costa Rica to return their embassies to Jerusalem . . . are attributable in large part to the interest these countries have in gaining military suport from Israel."

58. "Israel May Aid El Salvador," *The New Mexican* (Santa Fe), 17 August 1983. For detail on the embassy move see "El Salvador's Move to Jerusalem," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 2 (January 1985): 1ff. See also *Facts on File Yearbook 1984* (New York: Facts on File, 1984), 307.

59. Edward Cody, "Israel, El Salvador Set Closer Ties," *Washington Post*, 17 August 1983.

60. Klieman, 1984, 41.

61. Klieman, 1985, 41.

62. For detail on the Costa Rican embassy moves from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv and back to Jerusalem, see four reports in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (Daily Report, Latin America), "Costa Rica: Embassy to Remain in Jerusalem Despite 'Arab Pressure,' " 20 August 1980, P-1 [News story from San Jose "Radio Reloj" in Spanish, 19 August 1980]; "Costa Rica: Minister Comments on Jerusalem Embassy Decision," 21 August 1980, P-2 [News story from San Jose "Radio Noticias del Continente" in Spanish, 20 August 1980]; "Costa Rica: Decision to Maintain West Jerusalem Embassy Explained," 22 August 1980, P-1. [News story from San Jose, "Radio Reloj," 21 August 1980]; "Costa Rica: Government Moves Embasy in Israel to Jerusalem," 13 May 1982, P-1-2. [Story from San Jose "Radio Reloj" in Spanish, 12 May 1982.]

63. "Egypt Breaks Relations With 2 Latin Countries," *Houston Chronicle*, 22 April 1984. See also "Egypt, Irked by Salvador, Plans to Withdraw Envoy," *Miami Herald*, 20 April 1984.

64. "Cardamom Exports Will Resume," *This Week Central America and Panama*, 15 September 1980, 287.

65. "Relations with Israel," *Enfoprensa* (Washington, D.C.), 19 April 1985, 6.

66. "Honduran Embassy," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 9 (September 1985): 5.

67. "Israel Increases Its Presence: Honduras Upgrades Its Diplomatic Representation" *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America*, 10 January 1986, 6.

68. "Israel establece relaciones diplomaticas formales con Belice," *Inforpress Centroamericana (Guatemala), 13 September 1984, 5; "Israel Now — South Africa Next?," Disweek*, 14 September 1984. For more detail see Milton Jamail, "Links with Belize," *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, 1, no. 8 (July/August 1985): 1ff.

69. "100 [one hundred] Days and Beyond," *The New Belize*, April 1985, 5.

70. Interviews with current and former members of the Belize government conducted in Belize City, January 10, 1985; "Washington Sings a New Tune," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America*, 28 November 1980, 3.

71. "Secure Borders: A Goof," *The Belize Times*, 27 October 1985.

72. Cynthia Arnson, "Israel and Central America," *New Outlook*, March/April, 1984, 20.

73. El-Khawas and Abed-Rabbo, 42; Klieman, 1985, 157. See Chapter 3 for more detail on Israel's involvement with the Nicaraguan contras and the Pell Amendment that was designed to curtail the contra funding channeled through third countries.

74. *Facts on File Yearbook 1984* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985), 382.

75. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (Daily Report, Middle East and Africa), "Kimche to Discuss Aid to Central America with the U.S.," 20 April 1984, I-1 [Tel Aviv *Ha'aretz* in Hebrew, 20 April 1984].

76. Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, "U.S.-Israeli-Central American Connection," *The Link*, 18, no. 4 (November 1985): 12.

77. John Goshko, "U.S., Israel Discuss Increasing Aid to Third World Countries," *Washington Post*, 27 April 1984.

78. "Reagan's Unseen Ally in Central America," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 1 (December 1984): 6.

79. Howard, 22.

80. Leslie Gelb, "Israelis Said to Step Up Role As Arms Supplier to Latins," *New York Times*, 17 December 1982.

81. "Israeli Arms for Sale," *Time*, 28 March 1983, 36.

82. Klieman, 1985, 184.

83. Philip Taubman, "Israel Said to Aid Latin Aims of U.S.: Seized PLO Arms Reported Going to Nicaragua Rebels," *New York Times*, 21 July 1983.

84. "Reagan's Unseen Ally in Central America," 6.

85. See Robert G. Kaiser, "Is Dependency On U.S. Aid Doing Israel Any Good?" *Miami Herald*, 3 June 1984, and Nick Thimmesch, "Nobody Wants to Talk About Israel's Role in Central America," *Los Angeles Times Syndicate*, 19 May 1984.

86. Steve Goldfield, "Israel in Central America," *Palestine Focus* (January/February 1985), 6.

87. Howard, 16. See also Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*, (Boston: South End Press, 1983), 118.

88. Kaufman, 45.

89. Dan Goodgame, "Israel Arms Merchants Find Eager Buyers in Latin Nations," *Miami Herald*, 13 December 1982.

90. Klieman, 1985, 33.

91. Ibid., 44.

92. Beit-Hallahmi, 1985, 12.

93. Klieman, 1984, 40.

CHAPTER 3

DIMENSIONS OF ISRAELI MILITARY INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

What is Israel's role in the Central American context? Why do the Central American nations want arms and advisors from Israel? We would suggest four reasons. The foremost is the suspension of military assistance programs from the U.S. This occurred with U.S. arms sales to Somoza's Nicaragua, to the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala and, more recently, in the provision of arms to the contras fighting against the government of Nicaragua. In Costa Rica, Guatemala, and El Salvador, moreover, Israel provides aid to the national police—something Congress has prohibited the U.S. from doing since 1974.[1]

The second reason is that, in dealing with Israel, according to Klieman, the "purchaser country perceives its ties with Israel as the key to the influential American Jewish community and thus as a way to create a favorable climate and image for its standing with the United States."[2] The third reason is that some national leaders, such as Nicaragua's Somoza and Guatemala's generals, see themselves as misunderstood and internationally isolated. They perceive Israel as similarly under siege, and therefore willing to help them. The last factor is that Israeli weapons are combat tested and financially competitive with those of other arms dealers.

It is important to understand not only why Central American states are interested in buying Israeli arms and receiving Israeli advice, but

also the political context into which this aid is going. The regimes that Israel has supported in Nicargua under Somoza, in El Salvador, and in Guatemala were and are internationally infamous for their flagrant and unfailing human rights abuses. Israeli assistance to Honduras and Costa Rica, and to the contras operating from bases within those two "frontline" countries has also been important.

To better explain the impact of Israeli involvement we will describe the nature of Israeli military assistance to Central American countries, and provide a brief background of the contemporary political situation in that region. The section on Guatemala is the most extensive because that Central American nation is the most dependent on Israeli arms and assistance. Further, it is in Guatemala that the parallels between the Middle East and Central America are most obvious.

Nicaragua

Nicaragua Under the Somozas

Nicaraguan society was dominated by the Somoza family dynasty from the 1930s to 1979. The Somozas controlled the country's economy and successfully blocked all peaceful attempts at political and social change. Because the Somozas' iron rule brought stability to the region, they were supported faithfully by the United States.

Nicaragua's relationship with Israel predates the formation of the Zionist state. In the 1940s, Anastasio Somoza Garcia provided Haganah agents with the diplomatic cover necessary to buy arms in Europe.[3] In turn, Israel provided military equipment to Nicaragua beginning in the 1950s.[4] In February 1957 a Nicaraguan delegation went to Israel and negotiated a $1.2 million arms sale arranged by current Prime Minister Shimon Peres. In the same month Peres wrote to Colonel A. Somoza: "Out of an awareness of the excellent and friendly relations between our two countries, we have tried, within our limitations, to provide every possible assistance to the success of your mission."[5]

Its arms sales to Nicaragua and other Central American nations remained relatively uncontroversial until the outbreak of the Nicaraguan insurrection against General Anastasio Somoza Debayle.[6] The Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional (FSLN—the Sandinistas) was founded in 1961 to work towards the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty.[7] In the twenty-year period between the mid-1950s and late 1970s, Israel sold tanks, light aircraft, armored

cars, automatic rifles and ammunition to the Somoza dictatorship.[8] SIPRI reports that Israel provided 98 percent of Nicaragua's arms between 1970 and 1974.[9] It was the savagery shown by Somoza's troops toward the civilian population in the period after the September 1978 uprising, and the continued international attention given to human rights violations, that prompted the U.S. to cut off new arms shipments to the National Guard.[10] In the regime's final months, Israel is thought to have provided the vast majority of the military hardware received by the Somozas.[11]

Newsweek reported in November 1978 that earlier that month, two unmarked Israeli jet transport planes landed at the Managua airport late one evening, unloaded their shipment of Israeli arms, and took off before daylight. The article cited U.S. sources who confirmed that "in the past year (1978) . . . Israel has become Nicaragua's main supplier of weapons and ammunition."[12] It is very likely that the Israeli support for Somoza was encouraged by the U.S., at least until the last few weeks before his fall. A Carter administration official said in November 1978 that the administration "had decided against trying to prevent Israel from supplying light arms" to the Somoza government.[13]

Defending its arms shipments to Nicaragua, Israel pointed to the "special relationship" between itself and the Somozas, claiming that Israel "owed" Nicaragua the favor. Writing in the *Washington Post* in 1978, Smith Hempstone provided another explanation as to why Israel sold weapons to Nicaragua's authoritarian regime: "Perhaps the simplest answer is that Israel knows the difference between its friends and its enemies, and refuses to make moral judgments about the friends' policies." But even more important, he concluded, was the fact that at the United Nations "you will find Nicaragua casting its ballot in support of Israel."[14]

Nicaragua Under the Sandinistas

In May 1983 the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith issued a report claiming that "the Sandinista government has forced the country's entire Jewish community into exile, confiscating Jewish-owned property and taking over the synagogue in Managua."[15] At the time the Sandinista revolution triumphed in 1979, there were approximately 200 Jews residing in the country.[16] The Anti-Defamation League report was based almost entirely upon the testimony of two Nicaraguan exiles, Isaac Stavisky and his father, Abraham Gorn, both of whom had worked with the Somoza regime.

Subsequent investigations showed the allegations to be false. Even the U.S. embassy in Managua reported to Washington that it looked into the anti-Semitism charges and found little evidence to back them up.[17] Anthony Quainton, then the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, reported to Washington in late 1983 that "no verifiable evidence" had been found to support claims of anti-Semitic policies by the Nicaraguan government.[18] The Council on Hemispheric Affairs found that while there was an anti-*Israel* (emphasis ours) "mood" in Nicaragua, "no evidence of systematic repression of the Jewish community or officially-sponsored anti-Jewish campaigns" was detected.[19]

In July 1983 President Reagan echoed the Anti-Defamation League's claims that "virtually the entire Jewish community of Nicaragua has been frightened into exile."[20] Earlier, Rep. Michael Barnes (D—MD) had accused the Sandinistas of "government sponsored anti-Semitism."[21] Thus, the unsubstantiated and false reporting on the situation of the Jewish community in Nicaragua had become a political weapon for the Reagan administration.[22] In March 1985, a small group of conservative Nicaraguan Jews launched another national campaign to convince American Jews that the Sandinista government was anti-Semitic and anti-Israel.[23] The campaign was aimed at Jewish congressmen and non-Jewish congressmen with Jewish constituents who had opposed the funding of the contras.[24] At the same time, some U.S. Jews traveled to Nicaragua to investigate further the alleged Sandinista anti-Semitism. After a fact-finding trip to Nicaragua in July 1984, the New Jewish Agenda issued a report which concluded that "charges of Nicaraguan government anti-Semitism cannot be supported; there simply is no body of credible evidence to suggest that the Sandinista government has pursued or is currently pursuing a policy of discrimination or coercion against Jews, or that Jewish people are not welcome to live and work in Nicaragua."[25] The report added: "Charges of anti-Semitism are far too serious an issue to be publicly raised without clear substantiation and should not become used as a partisan political gambit in the United States."[26]

Aid to the Contras

The contras are a fighting force attempting to overthrow the government of Nicaragua since the early 1980s. They have been described by the Reagan administration as "freedom fighters" and as the "democratic resistance," and have been characterized by the Nicaraguan government as "basically former Somoza National Guardsmen who are engaged in terrorism against the Nicaraguan people."[27]

The bipartisan Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus of the U.S. Congress, in a report issued in April 1985, found that forty-six of forty-eight of the leaders of the largest contra military unit, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), were former National Guardsmen under Somoza.[28]

The Israelis have supplied arms to the contras since late 1982. At that time they sent several thousand AK47 assault rifles that had been captured from the Palestine Liberation Organization. According to the *Washington Post,* these rifles were paid for with CIA funds on cash-and-carry terms.[29] It is reported that about 500 of the weapons were channeled to Eden Pastora from Israel via Venezuela; the remainder were destined for the Nicaraguan Democratic Force's (FDN) Edgar Chamorro.[30] In July 1983 the Israeli-contra connection became public. According to senior Reagan administration officials: "Israel, at the request of the United States, has agreed to send weapons captured from the Palestine Liberation Organization to Honduras for eventual use by Nicaraguan rebels."[31]

Although denied by both the United States and Israel, it is very likely that the U.S. has used part of the military and economic aid package to Israel to fund the contras.[32] Concerned about such third party sales to the contras, Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI) introduced an amendment to the 1986 foreign aid bill that would curtail this practice. President Reagan threatened to veto the bill unless the amendment was scrapped. The Pell amendment was then rewritten in a way that does not prohibit third party sales.[33]

Several of the contra leaders have openly discussed Israeli aid to their movement. In April 1984, "NBC Nightly News" broadcast an interview with a contra leader and former officer in Somoza's National Guard in which he claimed: "We received some weapons . . . that [the] Israeli government took from [the] PLO in Lebanon."[34] NBC added that the rebels were known to use Soviet-made machine guns, and that Israel "at Washington's urging, has armed a quarter of the rebel army."[35] In May 1984 *Time* magazine reported that "Israel funnels arms to the contras through the Honduran army. Israeli intelligence experts have helped the CIA train the contras, and retired or reserve Israeli army commandos have been hired by shadowy private firms to assist the rebels."[36]

Contra leaders look to Israel for assistance and support. Marco Zeledon of the FDN commented in 1983: "Israel would be a good candidate if the North Americans reduce our aid."[37] Another prominent FDN figure, Adolfo Calero, in April 1984 confirmed that his forces

were looking for alternative sources of support and added that "the Israelis would be the best because they have the technical experience."[38]

Jane Hunter, editor of *Israeli Foreign Affairs,* believes that the U.S. pressured Israel to assume a more overt role in Central America in the summer and fall of 1983 and in the spring of 1984.[39] The *Jerusalem Post* reported that "the Administration would like to see Israel encourage its own supporters in the Congress, the Jewish community and elsewhere to become more assertive in backing the contras . . . . The Administration is prepared to cooperate with Israeli assistance schemes, but is more anxious to see a higher Israeli political profile in support of U.S. policy in Central America."[40]

Israel has accused the Reagan administration of encouraging the contras to talk about Israeli military assistance in order to improve the contras' image with members of the U.S. Congress who are pro-Israel.[41] The Israelis decline to take a high profile in the contras controversy precisely because doing so will antagonize liberals in Congress opposed to aid for the contras. At the same time, Israel runs the risk of upsetting right-wing congressional supporters who feel that Israel should do more to help the U.S. in Central America.[42]

Israel has denied that it supplied military equipment to the contras.[43] In April 1984 the *New York Times* reported an Israeli foreign ministry spokesman as saying, "Normally we do not discuss arms sales at all, but this allegaton is so baseless and casts such a slur upon Israel's image that we decided to make a public denial."[44] An official in Israel's foreign ministry explained to Guatemalan writer Victor Perera: "As to reports of our sales to the Nicaraguan contras, officially, I don't tell you yes and I don't tell you no; but I personally can assure that it is not true. Of course we have no control over what a third country might do."[45] As Klieman points out: "Diplomatic sensitivities may sometimes call for transferring weapons through a third party—country or private agent—so as to avoid complications and to enable spokesmen to insist that arms are not being supplied to a belligerent directly."[46]

Ignacio Klich, a journalist who closely follows Israel's Third World involvement, reported in the *Manchester Guardian* in October 1985 that the Israelis advising the contras have been officially assigned to their duties by the Israeli Defense Forces. Klich also cites "an authorative Washington defense weekly" report of contra leaders' claims that Israel was the source of the SAM-7 antiaircraft missles the contras obtained in 1985.[47]

In early 1985, citing Reagan administration officials and members of Congress, *New York Times* reporter Philip Taubman wrote that Israel had "increased its aid to the rebels providing more weapons and advice."[48] In October 1985 it was reported that President Reagan had approved a plan early that year for secret funding if Congress cut off military aid to the contras. In addition to assistance from American citizens, three U.S. allies, Israel, South Korea and Taiwan, were expected to help the rebels.[49]

As of early 1986, it seems apparent that the Reagan administration will continue to pressure for more Israeli involvement with the contras. If the U.S. Congress refuses the $100 million aid package that the administration has requested, the White House can either make military aid to the contras truly "covert," or it can begin to stress Nicaraguan connections with the PLO and Libya. As Jane Hunter points out: "Even if linking Nicaragua to the PLO doesn't stampede liberal members of Congress behind the contra program, it will certainly establish a dandy pretext for Israel to publicly take over the contras."[50]

Nicaragua-PLO Relations

The close relationship between the Somozas and Israel and the fact that Israel provided arms to fight the Sandinistas helps to explain the relations between the Sandinistas and the PLO that date back to the late 1960s. The Sandinistas saw their participation in battles against Somoza's allies as a matter of self-defense. Several early FSLN members trained with the PLO in the late 1960s and early 1970s. One Nicaraguan, Patrick Arguello, was killed while participating in a PLO-directed hijacking in Europe in 1970.[51]

A Sandinista-PLO relationship, however, has not led Nicaragua to express a stong interest in the Middle East, nor does it preclude reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Israel that were suspended in 1982. The New Jewish Agenda report sums it up concisely: "While they certainly have a history of support for and cooperation with the PLO, which maintains an office in Managua, the Sandinistas appear far less concerned with the Middle East than they do with Israeli policies as they affect Central America."[52]

Israeli-Nicaraguan Rapprochement?

In late 1984 there were signs that Israel and Nicaragua might be interested in reaching some kind of accommodation. Sergio Ramirez, Nicaragua's vice-president, has declared that his country is prepared

to reassess its relations with Israel. He explained that Nicaragua recognizes Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state while at the same time recognizes "the right of the Palestinian people to a territory."[53] Although it is not clear what camp the initiative for improved relations came from, Ramirez stated that he would welcome mutual initiatives which could lead to the improvement of relations.[54] In the fall of 1984, a delegation of the Israeli Mapam party visited Nicaragua. Its members reported that they did not feel that a Sandinista anti-Jewish policy existed and issued a statement condemning U.S. aid to the contras. "The Sandinistas impressed upon their guests the importance they attached to Israel's arms supplies to the contras, and they said this was one reason for Nicaragua's anti-Israel stance at international forums."[55] Ramirez pointed out to the New Jewish Agenda delegation that current Israeli arms sales and training activities in Central America posed a substantial obstacle to normalization.[56]

It is unclear how serious the possibilities for rapprochement between Nicaragua and Israel are. Three major bones of contention between the two countries today are Nicaragua's anti-Israeli position at the United Nations and other international forums, Nicaragua's relationship with the PLO and Israel's aid to the contras. It seems quite unlikely that Nicaragua will change its position vis-a-vis Israel as long as Israel continues to be a source of arms for the contras.

Honduras

Honduras, the poorest and most strategically located of the Central American nations, shares borders with Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua. Although the levels of repression and violations of human rights in Honduras are unacceptable by any standards, they have not reached the brutality of, for example, Somoza's dictatorship in Nicaragua during the late 1970s, or of the current regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala.[57] Honduras was used by the United States in 1954 for the staging of the coup which overthrew the progressive and democratic government in Guatemala. More recently, the Honduran military has cooperated with their Salvadoran counterparts in counterinsurgency efforts. Honduras is also the base for the largest group of contras fighting to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

Israel's sale of twelve refurbished Dassault Super-Mystere fighter-

interceptors to Honduras in 1977 gave that country, "the first supersonic bombers in Central America."[58] The jet fighter purchase was not Honduras' first from Israel,[59] but it raised a few eyebrows in Washington. The problem arose when Israel, by failing to inform the State Department that the Dassaults had been outfitted with U.S.-made Pratt and Whitney engines, "violated U.S. laws banning 'third country transfers' of U.S. military equipment."[60] The matter was settled with little fanfare; then U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger accepted the Israeli explanation that it all had been "an honest misunderstanding."[61] In addition to the fighter jets, Honduras pur-

Table 5

Israel's Military Sales to Honduras 1976-1984

Item	Description	Date	Quantity
Aircraft			
Arava-201	Short take-off and landing transport aircraft	1976	3
Westwind	Reconnaissance plane	—	1
Dessault Super Mystere	Fighter bomber	1976-78	12
Kfir C-2	Fighter bomber	Considering purchase* of one squadron (12)	
Arms			
Galil	Assault rifle	—	—
Uzi	Submachine gun	—	—
M-101	105-mm howitzer	—	—
106-mm mortar		—	—
Ammunition		—	—
Armored Cars			
RBY Mk	Armored car	—	14

Sources: Adrian English, *Armed Forces of Latin America: Defense and Foreign Affairs Handbook 1984*; Mark Hewish, *Air Forces of the World: Jane's All the World's Aircraft 1981-82*; Aaron Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach; The Military Balance 1983-84: SIPRI Yearbooks*; Ronald Slaughter, "Israel Arms Trade: Cozying Up to Latin America." *NACLA Report on the Americas*; "Israel's Part in Central America," *Central America Report*, 7 and 14 December 1984; "International Arms Transfers to Central America Since 1969," *Update* (Central American Historical Institute), 9 July 1984.

* Some defense analysts speculate that the Kfir would replace the Super Mystere.

chased from Israel three Arava transport planes, a Westwind jet, Galil automatic rifles, Uzi submachine guns, 14 RBY Mk armored cars, 106-mm mortars, and five rapid patrol boats over the course of the 1970s.[62]

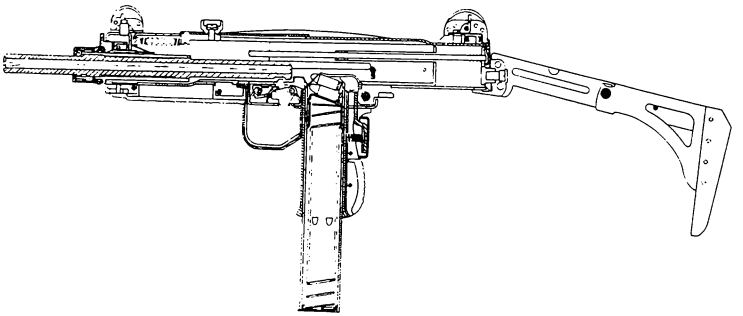
Seeking even more modern aircraft for an air force that defense analysts describe as having a "marked ascendancy in air power over neighboring countries,"[63] the head of the Honduran armed forces, General Gustavo Alvarez, in late 1982 made a "quasi-secret" visit to Israel in search of alternatives to U.S. planes, in case Congress refused to sell U.S. planes to Honduras.[64] Shortly after that, in December 1982, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon visited Tegucigalpa, raising speculation that another arms sale to Honduras was imminent. Sharon, accompanied by the head of Israel's air force and the director of the defense ministry,[65] stressed that in addition to discussing possible weapons sales and assistance to Honduras, he planned to sign agreements in the fields of health, agriculture, and culture.[66] The *Christian Science Monitor,* citing Honduran military sources, reported that Sharon did, in fact, sign an agreement in which Israel agreed to provide Honduras with Kfir fighter jets, tanks, Galil assault rifles and training for Honduran officers, troops and pilots. The Honduran officer added "that a second phase of arms sales may involve more sophisticated weapons, such as missiles."[67]

Israeli social scientist Edy Kaufman plays down the importance of Sharon's visit to Honduras. Sharon's trip took place, Kaufman claims, "without prior consultation with his colleagues and with only a last minute announcement to then Foreign Minister Shamir. . . . His visit was resented by Israeli officials, may have spoiled some incipient agreements and was, by and large, of no consequence."[68] Sharon, upon his return to Israel, asserted his "visit to Honduras was the result of a decision made by the prime minister and foreign minister, and, of course, I assumed the mission."[69]

In any event, Honduran officials were apparently pleased with the Sharon visit which immediately followed a trip by President Reagan. One official commented: "Sharon's trip was more positive. He sold us arms. Reagan only uttered platitudes, explaining that Congress was preventing him from doing more."[70] The U.S. State Department claimed it was unaware of Sharon's trip.[71]

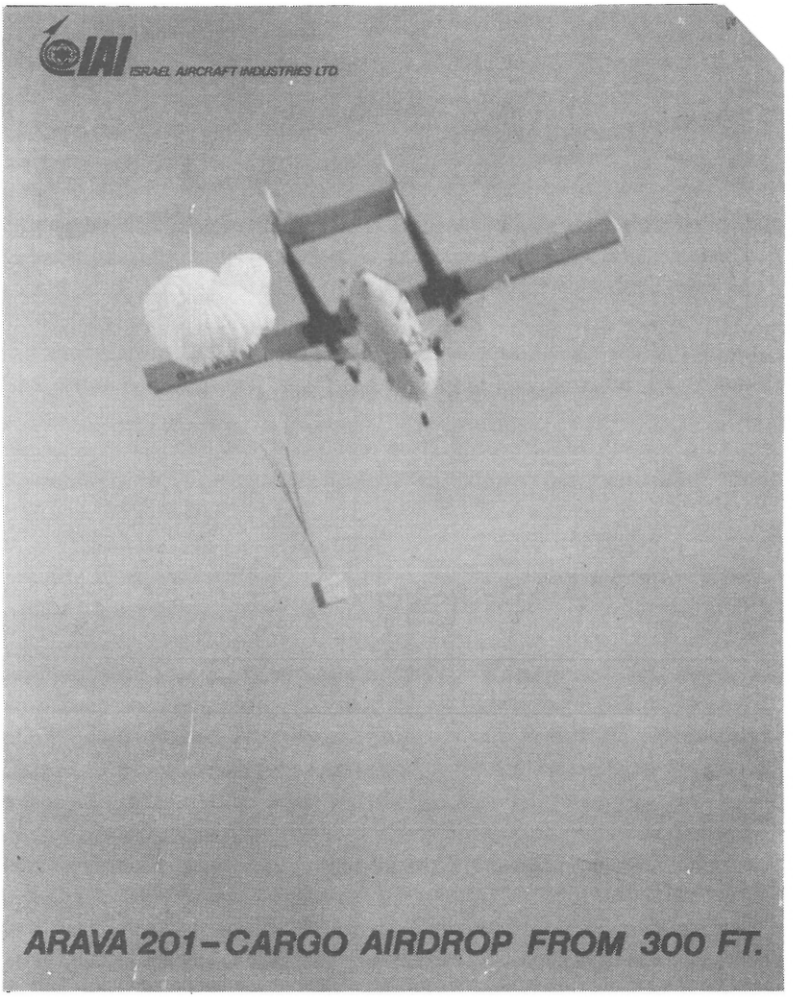
It is not clear what kind of military arrangement Israel eventually made with Honduras or what equipment was delivered. Since 1982, however, the United States has greatly increased its role in aiding the Honduran military, making much of the Israeli aid less crucial.

Israeli 5.56-mm Galil Rifle.

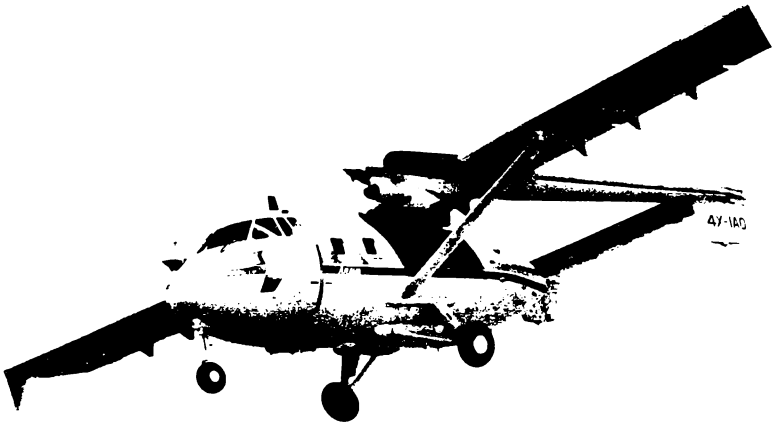


Section View. Uzi 9-mm submachine gun.

Source: Joseph E. Smith, *Small Arms of the World.* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Company, 1973), 466-467.



Source: Israel Aircraft Industries promotional brochure.



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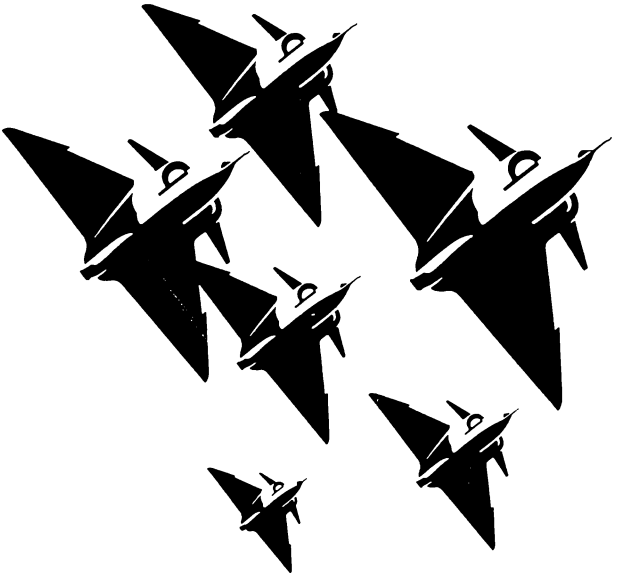
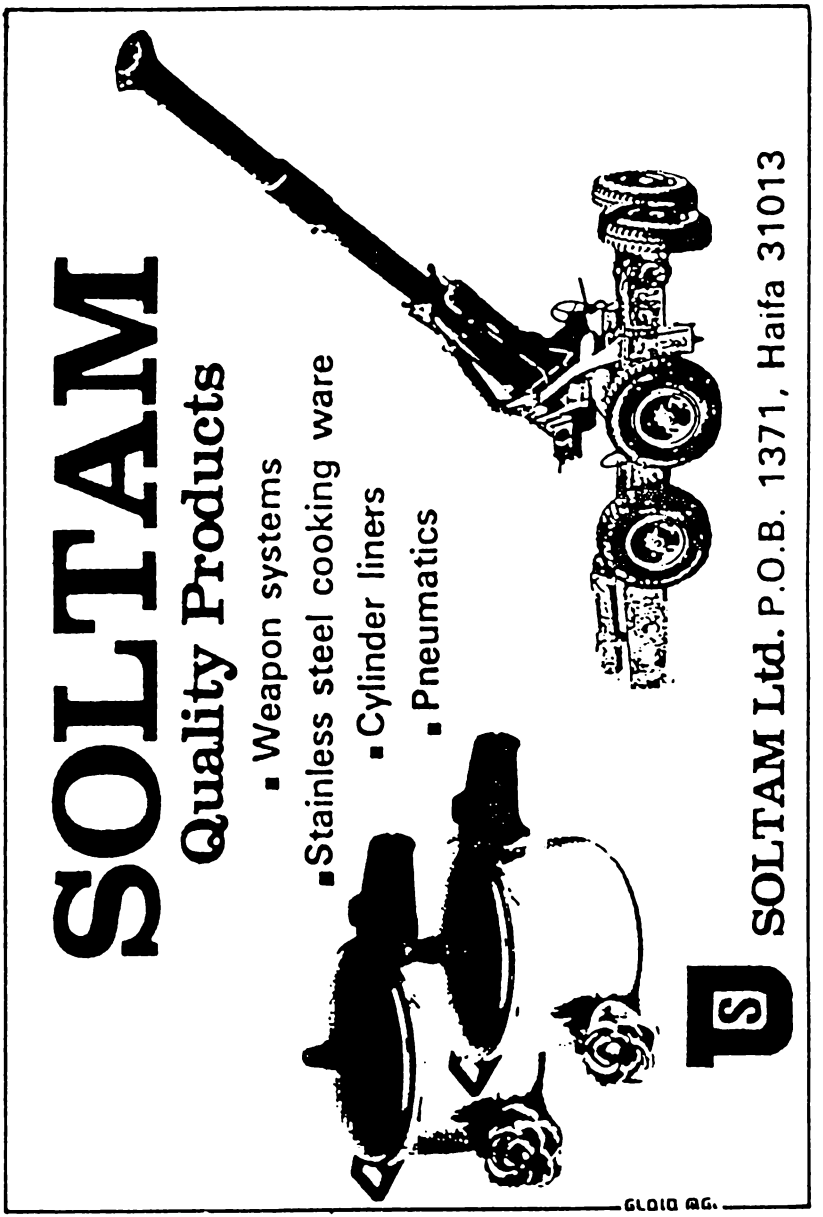
Source: *The Israel Economist*, January 1984, 26.



SUPERIOR COMBAT FIGHTER

Source: Israel Aircraft Industries promotional brochure.



Source: *Jerusalem Post Supplement* — "Export," May 8, 1985.

El Salvador

Like Guatemala and Nicaragua, El Salvador's government had effectively blocked all peaceful options for political and social change by the early 1970s. The military that ruled since the early 1930s had successfully thwarted attempts to change a political system which benefited a handful of families and kept the vast majority of people in abject poverty. In the 1970s both the popular movement and the armed guerrilla organizations gained momentum. As in the case of the other Central American countries, most of the Salvadoran military's operations were against their own people. The exception was a brief conflict with neighboring Honduras in 1969.[72]

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, between 1975 and 1979, 83 percent of El Salvador's defense imports were from Israel.[73] This included 25 Arava aircraft; 6 Fouga Magister trainer planes; 18 Dassault Ouragan jet fighers; 200 80-mm rocket launchers; 200 9-mm Uzi submachine guns; ammunition and spare parts[74] (see Table 6). While El Salvador got the military equipment, the Israelis gained on the diplomatic front. Kaufman comments that "the first arms negotiation with El Salvador [1973] preceded the announcement of the first exchange of embassies in Jerusalem and San Salvador by half a year."[75] A 1983 agreement between El Salvador and Israel, providing for the relocation of the Salvadoran embassy in Israel to Jerusalem, also discussed the renewal of Israeli military aid to El Salvador. [76] In April 1984 there were rumblings again about increased Israeli military involvement in El Salvador. At that time Yossi Amihud, spokesperson for the Israeli foreign ministry denied that "Israel had any military relationship with El Salvador."[77]

In addition to selling arms, Israel has assisted the government of El Salvador in a number of other military and security related capacities. In 1981, Israel transferred $21 million in arms credits to El Salvador after being requested to do so by Washington, thus enabling the Reagan administration to bypass Congress.[78] The Israeli daily newspaper *Davar* reported in 1984 that "the Pentagon wants Israel to send military advisors to El Salvador openly, as a demonstration of Israeli participation in the load the United States bears in Central America."[79] Israel reportedly also has provided El Salvador with an estimated one hundred advisors to work in counterinsurgency training. According to the former Salvadoran Undersecretary of the Interior, Francisco Guerra y Guerra, Israeli technicians began installing a computer system in El Salvador with capabilities similiar to those

Table 6

Israel's Military Sales to El Salvador 1973-1982

Item	Description	Date	Quantity
Aircraft			
Arava-201	Short take-off and landing transport aircraft	1973-78	22 to 25
Fouga Magister	Training plane	1975	6
Dessault Ouragan	Fighter bomber	1973-75	18
Super Mystere	Fighter bomber	1982	4
Arms			
Galil	Assault rifle	–	–
Uzi	Submachine gun	–	–
80-mm rocket launcher	Anti-armor weapon	–	–
Ammunition		–	–
Other			
Spare parts		–	–

Sources: Adrian English, *Armed Forces of Latin America; Defense and Foreign Affairs Handbook 1984*; Mark Hewish, *Air Forces of the World; Jane's All the World's Aircraft 1981-82*; Aaron Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach; The Military Balance 1983-84; SIPRI Yearbooks*; Ronald Slaughter, "Israel Arms Trade: Cozying Up to Latin America," *NACLA Report on the Americas*; "Israel's Part in Central America," *Central America Report*, 7 and 14 December 1984; "International Arms Transfers to Central America Since 1969," *Update* (Central American Historical Institute), 9 July 1984.

used by the Guatemalan security forces.[80] (For details on the Guatemalan computers see below.) These computers would enable the military and police to seek out government opponents more systematically. Guerra y Guerra also confirmed that there had been Israeli advisors working with the Salvadoran secret police in the late 1970s.[81]

United States advisors are forbidden by law from training foreign police forces. In early 1985 the Deputy Minister of Defense for Public Security, Colonel Carlos Reynaldo Lopez Nuila, "travelled to Israel where he reportedly explored the possibility of Israeli training for internal security forces."[82]

In 1984 Salvadoran Air Force Commander Rafael Bustillo admitted that his military had purhased napalm from Israel which was used in El Salvador for a number of years until 1981.[83] The U.S. ambassador at the time, Thomas Pickering, confirmed that the napalm

was "probably of Israeli origin."[84] An Israeli embassy spokesman in Washington declined comment to the *New York Times* on whether Israel had supplied napalm weapons, citing a "longstanding policy of making no comments concerning military sales."[85]

Salvadoran Army Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa Perez, a key actor in El Salvador's stepped-up war against the guerrillas, credits his training by Israelis in both Israel and El Salvador in the mid-1970s for his military development.[86] Ochoa believes that the civilian population cannot remain neutral in a conflict such as El Salvador's. In 1983, when asked if his civic-military action was based on the U.S. experience in Vietnam, Ochoa replied, "They lost. The Americans know nothing. . . . The Taiwanese and the Israelis do know."[87] In 1985 Ochoa told the *Dallas Morning News* that El Salvador's new civil defense units "will be like the armed patrols on the Israel kibbutzim."[88] Ochoa has commented that he would like to see the Salvadoran army pursue the "Israeli solution" to what he sees as Nicaraguan support for Salvadoran guerrillas. For Ochoa, Nicaragua would become Central America's Lebanon.[89]

Costa Rica

Since its revolution in the 1940s, Costa Rica has not experienced the political upheavals of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. However, as the U.S.-sponsored effort to overthrow the government of Nicaragua unfolds, Costa Rica is assuming a prominent position. Costa Rica abolished its military in 1948. Nevertheless, the Costa Rican national police and security forces do require equipment and training. Latin American Newsletters reported in 1984 that in the area along the Costa Rica-Nicaragua border, the civil guard "has adopted Galil rifles and Uzi sub-machine guns as its official arms."[90] The report added that in addition to the arms, the Israelis have provided advice, particularily in the field of intelligence and communication. In 1985 the Costa Rican government announced that it would seek antiaircraft weapons and high-caliber machine guns from Israel and other countries.[91]

Costa Rica has long maintained good relations with Israel. Costa Rican president from 1982 to early 1986, Luis Alberto Monge, was formerly his country's ambassador to Israel.[92] Over the past twenty-odd years the greater share of Israeli-Costa Rican relations have not been concerned with security matters. Yet, as early as 1964, when

Costa Rica was creating its Movimiento Nacional de Juventud (National Youth Movement) under Israeli direction, a representative of Israel's Ministry of Defense went to Costa Rica to convince officials that the Gadna (an Israeli paramilitary youth organization) prototype was feasible.[93]

As in the case of Honduras, Israel in late 1982, according to the *New York Times,* offered Costa Rica "a substantial amount of military equipment captured from Palestinian forces in Lebanon if Costa Rica would pay for the transportation costs."[94] Israel has provided and, it is believed, continues to provide, intelligence and anti-terrorist training to the Costa Rican security forces. Deputy Security Minister of Costa Rica Johnny Campos admitted that Israel was helping train Costa Ricans in intelligence matters, although he denied any other kind of assistance in the military field.[95] Israel has, according to Edy Kaufman, engaged in the training and reorganization of Costa Rica's national police.[96] In 1984, the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* reported that Israel will sell arms and provide counterinsurgency to the Costa Rican police.[97]

In 1983, columnist Jack Anderson reported that the United States and Israel were involved in a land-development scheme which included buying up land along the Nicaragua-Costa Rica border, clearing roads through the wilderness, and moving in thousands of settlers. "Israel will provide the technical expertise, presumably based on its experiences with settlements in the West Bank area."[98] The plan is called the "Northern Zone Infrastructure Development" project and reflects the U.S. preoccupation with isolating Nicaragua. The Israeli daily *Yedi'ot Aharonot* had reported several months prior to Anderson's story that "the government of Costa Rica has decided to try and create a 'security belt' along the border with Nicaragua, and Israel will aid the settlement plan."[99] As was pointed out above, this is a region of very strong contra activity aimed at overthrowing the Nicaraguan government. The Israeli-US-Costa Rican settlement program fits nicely into the attempt to box in and surround Nicaragua.[100] A Reagan administration official conceded that an additional purpose of the project is to provide an infrastructure for use by military units in case of an eventual conflict with Nicaragua.[101] "Financing apparently comes from USAID [Agency for International Development], and Israel provides the advisors. The idea is to move anti-communist Costa Rican farmers up to the border, and supply them with infrastructure, credit and technical services. They would be providing cover for the contra base camps scattered throughout the area."[102]

Hector Frances, who until 1982 acted as an Argentine advisor to

Table 7

Basic Data on Central America 1985

	BELIZE	COSTA RICA	EL SALVADOR	GUATEMALA	HONDURAS	NICARAGUA
Area/size	8,866 sq. miles (size of MA)	19,652 sq. miles (slightly smaller than WV)	8,236 sq. miles (size of MA)	42,042 sq. miles (size of OH)	43,277 sq. miles (size of TN)	57,113 sq. miles (size of WI)
Population	150,000	2.7 million	4.8 million	7.9 million	4.4 million	2.9 million
Capital	Belmopan	San Jose	San Salvador	Guatemala City	Tegucigalpa	Managua
Head of Government	Prime Minister Manuel Esquivel	President Oscar Arias	President Jose Napoleon Duarte	President Vinicio Cerezo	President Jose Azcona	President Daniel Ortega
Chief Exports	sugar, citrus, bananas,seafoods	coffee, bananas sugar, beef	coffee, sugar, cotton	coffee, cotton, sugar	bananas, coffee, lumber, meat	coffee, sugar, cotton

Source: Adapted from *A Central America Primer* (Philadelphia, Pa: American Friends Service Committee, 1985) and information provided by the government of Belize.

the contras, interpreted the importance of having troops in Costa Rica along the Nicaraguan border. "The point of concentrating troops would be to prevent the Sandinista Popular Army—once having forced it into armed confrontations—from being able to carry out strategically critical maneuvers within Costa Rican territory in its own legitimate self-defense."[103]

Frances also discussed the role of the Israeli ambassador in Costa Rica in facilitating the travel of contras from Costa Rica, claiming that the diplomat offered Israeli passports for use by the contras to move freely from Costa Rica to Honduras.[104]

Israel's involvement with the contra forces in both Honduras and Costa Rica in their effort to encircle the Sandinistas appears to be coordinated with U.S. plans. If, as was discussed in the section on Nicaragua, the Israelis are having second thoughts about their involvement with the contras, it will be important to see how they redefine their relationship with Costa Rica.

Guatemala

In a February 1983 news report on Guatemala, CBS anchorman Dan Rather stated: "Israel has helped that Central American country wage a war with no questions asked."[105] The report added that Israel had provided Guatemala with automatic weapons, helmets, troop transports, and other equipment. "And they didn't send down congressmen, human rights activists or priests. They taught the Guatemalans how to build an air base. They set up their intelligence network, tried and tested on the West Bank and Gaza, designed simply to beat the guerrilla."[106]

In no Central American country is Israeli military involvement as pervasive as in Guatemala, and that nation's military has come to depend more heavily on Israel than any other country. In 1983 *Time* magazine wrote: "In Guatemala the Israelis have sold the government everything from antiterrorism equipment to transport planes. Army outposts in the jungle have become near replicas of Israeli army field camps."[107]

Human Rights

A brief overview of Guatemala's political situation is necessary to better appreciate the importance of Israeli military assistance. Between 1944 and 1954 Guatemala experienced a period of significant social

and political reform. The government of President Juan Jose Arevalo initiated these reforms, and it was the Arevalo government that pushed for the recognition of the state of Israel. In 1954 the second "revolutionary" government, that of democratically-elected President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, was overthrown in a U.S. CIA-sponsored coup.[108] The Arbenz government had angered the U.S. and Guatemala's oligarchy by challenging the United Fruit Company's control over the economy, expropriating its unproductive lands, and instituting legislation which favored peasants and working people. Because the social lessons and experiences of the 1944-1954 period were not easily forgotten by the Guatemalan people, they have had to be systematically repressed. It is estimated that in the past thirty-one years, between 70,000 and 110,000 Guatemalans have been the victims of government initiated or sanctioned political violence.[109]

Since 1954, Guatemala has been ruled by members of the military, and key and powerful government positions have been staffed by officers of the armed forces. From 1954 to 1985, every president except one was a military officer and that one, Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro (1966-1970), was allowed to take office only by pledging to follow the dictates of the military.[110] Although a civilian president assumed office in January 1986, it is very unlikely that the military will relinquish its hold on power.[111]

In the past twenty-five years the armed forces have expanded their role in Guatemalan society in other ways. In 1960, dissident army-officers attempted an unsuccessful coup against the military government that led to the beginning of the guerrilla movement, which continues today.[112] To deal with the guerrillas, the government has used not only the army, but has systematically resorted to paramilitary "death squads" to kill guerrillas, those suspected of being guerrillas, guerrilla sympathizers, and those suspected of sympathizing with the guerrillas.[113] In addition, the government has regularly used the armed forces and the allied death squads against critics of the government, other dissidents and common criminals.[114]

By 1977 this government-sponsored terrorism had reached such a level that Guatemala was threatened with a cutoff of U.S. military aid and assistance. Rather than accept the conditions placed on the military aid (that Guatemala stop violating the human rights of its citizens), the Guatemalan military refused the aid. In the same year, Guatemala began to rely on Israel to fill the void left by the U.S. cutoff. Beginning in 1978 and continuing to the present—a period of dependency upon Israeli aid and assistance—the Guatemalan govern-

Table 8

Israel's Military Sales to Guatemala 1975-1984

Item	Description	Date	Quantity
Aircraft			
Arava-201	Short take-off and landing transport aircraft	1975-1978	10
Helicopters		–	–
Kfir C-2	Fighter bomber	Considering purchase of one squadron (12)	
Arms			
Galil	Assault rifle	1979-1980	15,000
Uzi	Submachine gun	1975-1984	–
Other rifles		1983	12,000
81-mm mortars		–	–
Bazookas		–	–
Ammunition		1975-1984	hundreds of tons
Boats			
Dabur	Patrol boat	–	3
Zodiac	Assault boat	1983	12
Armored Cars			
RBY Mk	Armored car	1979-1984	10
Other			
Field Kitchens		1979-1980	4
Uniforms/infantry equipment		–	–

Sources: Adrian English, *Armed Forces of Latin America; Defense and Foreign Affairs Handbook 1984*; Mark Hewish, *Air Forces of the World; Jane's All the World's Aircraft 1981-82*; Aaron Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach; The Military Balance 1983-84; SIPRI Yearbooks*; Ronald Slaughter, "Israel Arms Trade: Cozying Up to Latin America," *NACLA Report on the Americas*; "Israel's Part in Central America," *Central America Report*, 7 and 14 December 1984; "International Arms Transfers to Central America Since 1969," *Update* (Central American Historical Institute), 9 July 1984.

ment's repression toward any form of organized opposition has reached alarming proportions.[115]

During the regime of General Romeo Lucas Garcia (1978-1982) the repression reached such a degree that his own vice-president, Francisco Villagran Kramer, resigned and stated "There are no political prisoners in Guatemala—only political murders."[116] In the rural areas, according to then Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Langhorne A. Motley, the Guatemalan military relied on the "indiscriminate use of violence to force their [the peasants] allegiance."[117] As the Kissinger Commission report on Central America noted, "In the countryside, they [Guatemalan government security forces] have at times killed indiscriminately to repress any sign of support for the guerrillas."[118] The Kissinger Report also commented on the murderous activities of the security forces in the cities, adding that those suspected of being dissidents were assassinated during Lucas Garcia's "brutal" administration.[119]

Amnesty International, commenting on the 1978-1980 period, reported that "on some days as many as 17 unidentified bodies were found" most hideously disfigured by torture, along the roadsides, in storm drains, under viaducts or piled high in ravines or mass graves. Usually the victims had been shot in the head, strangled with a garotte or smothered with a rubber hood.[120]

In 1982 Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, explained to a U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee: "In Guatemala we carefully refrained from backing a regime with a record of serious human rights violations."[121]

Israeli Involvement in Guatemala

It would be easy to conclude that Israel is simply acting as a proxy for the U.S. in Guatemala. However, it is worth stressing that the independent foreign policy agendas of Israel and the United States coincide quite neatly in Guatemala.

Although Israel points to its early special relationship with Guatemala, it is important to note that that relationship began between a progressive government in Guatemala and what was perceived by the Guatemalans as an anti-colonial struggle in Palestine. The situation has changed considerably in the ensuing forty years. Guatemala's military dictatorship of today is the direct descendant of a right-wing government that took power in 1954 by overthrowing the government that had forged such good relations with Israel. And Israel, in turn,

is now broadly allied with conservative (e.g., United States) and reactionary (e.g., South Africa) regimes. Today it is an alliance between an Israel which wants or needs to please the U.S., requires a market for its arms, and seeks allies at the UN, and a repressive Guatemala which needs military assistance. In 1981 Israeli ambassador to Guatemala, Moshe Dayan (no relation to the late defense minister) hailed Guatemala as "one of our best friends."[122] The following year, a Guatemala City political and business leader told *Los Angeles Times* reporter Dial Torgerson, "We're isolated internationally. The only friend we have left in the world is Israel."[123]

Israeli Weapons in Guatemala

Although Guatemalan military officials visited Israel as early as 1964,[124] it was not until after a 1975 trip, ostensibly seeking assistance in agricultural co-operatives, that Israel became a major military supplier for Guatemala.[125] That year Great Britain persuaded the U.S. to hold back on arms sales to Guatemala, because providing weapons could threaten Guatemala's neighbor (and Britain's colony) Belize.[126] Israel filled in by delivering a number of Arava aircraft, Uzi submachine guns and a variety of heavier arms including bazookas.[127]

Faced with a military aid cutoff from the U.S. in 1977 because of a "consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights," the Guatemalans once again turned to Israel.[128] Within three months, Guatemala began to receive large shipments of Israeli-made weapons.[129] From 1977 to the present, the U.S. has sold virtually no military equipment to Guatemala. In turn, Israel has become the main source of armaments for Guatemala.[130] After 1977, Guatemala changed its standard military weapon from the Garand M-1 to the Israeli Galil assault rifle. Ironically, by 1981 the Guatemalan insurgency movement's standard weapon had also become the Galil, obtained by stealing or buying it from the Guatemalan military, or by puchasing it on the black market.[131]

Initially, Israel's arms sales to Guatemala were secret. However, in 1977, the government of Barbados seized a ship loaded with 65 tons of Israeli guns destined for Guatemala.[132] Later that year, a private plane traveling from Portugal to Guatemala landed in Bridgetown, Barbados for mechanical reasons. The local police, having been advised by British intelligence, inspected the plane and found 26 tons of arms and ammunition from Israel.[133] Occasionally, the Guatemalan press will report the arrival of ships loaded with arms for the Guatemalan military,[134] but notice of purchases of small arms,

ammunition and electronic equipment usually goes unreported publicly.[135]

The sale of heavier military equipment, however, is easier to detect.[136] One of Guatemala's major purchases from Israel is the Arava aircraft, used extensively in the Guatemalan counterinsurgency effort. Since 1975 Guatemala has bought seventeen Arava.[137] Israel Aircraft Industries describes it as a "passenger/cargo versatile aircraft that solves the transportation problem of inaccessible developing regions," and adds, "it also enables police units to control more effectively large areas with small units having limited ground transport."[138] Although Guatemala did use the Arava for its agricultural development programs, its main purpose is military in nature. Former Guatemalan army chief of staff General Benedicto Lucas Garcia, brother of President Romeo Lucas Garcia, stated in a 1986 interview that "Israel helped us in regard to planes and transportation—which we desperately needed because we had problems in transferring ground forces from one place to another." When asked if he was referring to the Arava, he remarked "Yes, to Arava planes."[139] As early as 1979, Cynthia Arnson wrote in *The Nation* that "The Guatemalans have equipped their ten Aravas with forward-firing machine guns and underwing carriers for gunships."[140]

SIPRI calculates that between 1975 and 1979, 39 percent of Guatemala's arms imports were from Israel.[141] Nevertheless, information on the actual transactions involved in the transfer of weaponry to Latin American countries is hard to come by. "In some cases, as in the sale of helicopters to Guatemala, Israel is said to have accepted local currency and held it on account against the purchase of future Guatemalan goods, or it has been used to cover the local currency costs of other Israeli enterprises."[142]

General Benedicto Lucas Garcia recently commented, "While Israel did not provide us with large amounts [of arms], it was the only country that gave us military support in our battle against the guerrillas."[143] There is little doubt that Israel now provides almost all of the small arms (including machine guns and automatic weapons) used by the Guatemalan military. As early as 1981, James Nelson Goodsell reported in the *Christian Science Monitor* that Guatemala "made substantial new purchases of weapons from Israel, long its biggest weapons supplier, for $20 million this year."[144] Christopher Dickey reported in the *Washington Post* that Israeli Galil rifles were now "standard issue,"[145] and Leslie Gelb wrote in the *New York Times* that "almost all of the Guatemalan armed forces carry Uzi submachine guns and

Galil rifles."[146] The respected Jane's Publishing Company reported in a 1984 publication that "Israeli influence remains strong and the Guatemalan military is now primarily equipped with personal weapons and equipment of Israeli origin."[147]

By 1982 Israel had delivered at least 11 Arava, 10 RBY Mk armored cars, 15,000 Galil rifles, and four field kitchens.[148] In early 1984, Guatemala purchased 12,000 rifles from Israel, ostensibly to be used for "training purposes."[149] It is likely that they were intended for use by the civil patrols in the Guatemalan military's counterinsurgency effort. Israeli government officials claimed that the rifles "were not a government-to-government transaction," and added that they were sold by a former partner of David Marcos Katz, the Israel Aircraft Industries representative in Mexico.[150] In addition to the above, by December of 1984 Guatemala reportedly had received an additional three Dabur patrol boats, hundreds of tons of light arms and ammunition, bazookas, 81-mm mortars, grenade launchers, and Uzi submachine guns.[151]

Israeli Computer Technology

A key tool in upgrading the efficiency of the Guatemalan police and military has been the transfer of sophisticated computer technology from Israel to Guatemala. The Army Transmissions and Electronics School, inaugurated by President Romeo Lucas Garcia in 1981, was "designed, staffed and funded by Israelis."[152] Colonel Carlos Anibal Mendez Cabrera, who is in charge of the school, explained that "teaching methods, the teaching teams, the technical instruments, books, and even the custom furniture were designed and built by the Israeli company DEGEM Systems."[153] The opening ceremony was attended by the Israeli ambassador to Guatemala.[154] Expressing his appreciation for Israel's assistance, General Benedicto Lucas Garcia, noted that the army school was a "positive step,"[155] and that Guatemala had been brought up to date, militarily, "thanks to the advice and transfer of electronic technology" from Israel.[156] Israeli social scientist Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi notes that in Guatemala "utilization of computers in counterinsurgency follows the Israeli experience of using the same technology to control the occupied territories."[157]

The computer system has a dual purpose: first, to track the activities of the guerrillas, and second, to coordinate all of Guatemala's security forces. This was confirmed by Benedicto Lucas Garcia in 1986. "Israel helped us set up two computer centers—not one. One was set up to serve 'G-4'—the army's logistic branch which most of the depart-

ments of the General Command in the Presidential Palace are connected with. The second is actually the nerve center of the armed forces, which deals with the movements of units in the field and so on."[158]

Today in Guatemala, an event as ordinary as renting an apartment is subject to a computerized "subversion check." Beit-Hallahmi, in a 1983 interview, commented on the Israeli-developed computer system that can zero in on buildings with overnight electrical surges: "The idea is that in a building in Guatemala City where electricity is used at night there is some sort of clandestine meeting going on or an illegal printing press operating."[160] While the technology for this operation was provided by Israel it is likely that the technique itself was taught by Chilean and Argentine advisors. Shortly after the Guatemalans acquired this new technology, a number of guerrilla safe houses in Guatemala City were discovered during the summer of 1981.[161]

Israeli Advisors

Israel denies providing advisors to Guatemala. Ambassador Dayan commented: "Maybe there are Israeli persons here, but they are not with the Israeli Army and not with the embassy. We do not have even a military attache and we do not have advisors here."[162] Benedicto Lucas Garcia claims "Israel provided us with advisors who helped us use the military equipment we purchased from Israel."[163] There are also numerous other reports of Israeli advisors in Guatemala. "CBS News" and the *New York Times,* citing State Department and U.S. intelligence officials as sources, have stated that the Israelis assisted intelligence activities in Guatemala. [164] Segments of the Guatemalan military have been trained in Israel; others have been instructed in Guatemala by Israeli personnel.[165] In March of 1982, General Rios Montt told an ABC reporter that the military coup which put him in power had gone off smoothly "because many of our soldiers were trained by Israelis."[166] At the time of the coup, Tel Aviv newspapers reported there were 300 Israeli advisors in Guatemala.[167] There has been no authoritative figure of Israeli personnel in the country since that time.[168]

Top Guatemalan officials continue to visit Israel. One of the most recent was Army Chief of Staff General Rodolfo Lobos Zamora's mid-February 1985 trip to "negotiate for Israeli aid, particularly military aid."[169] Guatemalan president, General Oscar Mejia Victores cancelled a planned 1985 trip "to the Vatican and the Middle East"—

presumably to include Israel—because of an internal crisis in Guatemala.[170]

A 1980 police assistance agreement between the two countries has enabled Guatemalan intelligence agents to study with Israeli advisors in this field. Since Minister of Interior Donaldo Alvarez Ruiz's trip to Israel in 1979 to sign the agreement, "Israeli advisors have worked closely with Guatemalan police intelligence."[171]

The Israeli advisors have played a decisive role in Guatemala not only in helping the Guatemalans set up an intelligence network, but by providing advice and training for the notorious counterinsurgency program in the countryside.

Counterinsurgency: Pacification and Social Control

In the 1960s when Guatemala was first confronted with a strong guerrilla movement, the Guatemalan military was trained in counterinsurgency tactics by the U.S.[172] The tactics involved civic-action programs (feeding people and building roads in areas of guerrilla activity), the use of "death squads" (designed to deter participation with the guerrillas and to obtain information), and regular military tactics. The campaign was successful and the movement was seriously, if temporarily, set back. In the early 1970s, however, the guerrilla movement resurfaced and this time developed its strongest base in the Indian areas of the country—a region basically untouched by the 1960s movement.[173]

After 1977, when the U.S. no longer provided training, the Guatemalan military adapted the U.S. counterinsurgency manuals to their own reality and began a massive new campaign against the guerrillas. It is in the counterinsurgency effort in the countryside that the Israeli contribution has been the most crucial.

Israel was not the only country Guatemala turned to when U.S. aid was reduced. Argentine and Chilean personnel gave advice, mainly in urban counterinsurgency and police intelligence.[174] Taiwan, South Korea and Portugal sold ammunition. Switzerland provided training aircraft which the Guatemalan military quickly converted to military use.[175] Training in psychological warfare came from Taiwan.[176] South Africa reportedly is advising on the resettlement component of the counterinsurgency.[177] Taiwan, South Africa, Israel, and Guatemala all share the common trait of international isolation. This accounts, in part, for the deepening relations among the four countries.[178]

Israel, however, provides the bulk of the aid and advice to the Guatemalan military and is greatly admired by them. In a 1985 in-

terview a Guatemalan military officer commented: "Israel gave us the initial support that we need to face the problem of subversion. Israel offered courses, texts and documents that explained why the United States and Great Britain failed in Indochina and Malaysia."[179]

While providing arms and advisors, the Israelis do not dominate and control the war effort, as the U.S. attempts to do in El Salvador. The Guatemalans know what they want to do; the Israelis tell them how to better accomplish the aim. The Guatemalan government, in facing a broad based popular movement, has come to resemble the Israelis on the West Bank and Gaza: they are an occupying army. They must use force to stop dissent, but also need to plan for the more long-range effort of social control. Thus the Israeli plans at home provide a prototype for solving Guatemalan problems.

According to one U.S. scholar intimately familiar with the Guatemalan military, Guatemalan military officers have been told by their Israeli counterparts and advisors to "treat the Indians like we treat the Palestinians—don't trust any of them."[180] The Guatemalan right wing spoke openly of the "Palestinianization" of Guatemalan Indians who comprise more than half of the country's population.[181] Since the late 1970s the government-sponsored repression has been devastating, particularly to the indigenous population. Entire villages have been wiped out by either aerial bombardment or systematic slaughter. In the 1981-1984 period alone estimates of the death toll range between 50,000 and 75,000.[182] Wayne Smith, a former U.S. State Department official commented: "The [Guatemalan] government's atrocities make the Sabra and Shatila massacres in Beirut pale by comparison. Guatemala may be the most dangerous powder keg in the region."[183] An American priest in Guatemala remarked: "This is a second Holocaust. How can Israel, of all countries, sell arms to this government?"[184] By 1983, an estimated 100,000 Guatemalan Indians were forced to flee to refugee camps across the Mexican border, and one million had become internal refugees (i.e., inside Guatemala). In short, "the Indians . . . began to look very much like a people stripped of their homeland."[185]

The Guatemalans openly admit that many of their technicians have been trained in Israel. Colonel Eduardo Wohlers, one of the leading figures in the counterinsurgency-pacification effort commented: "The model of the kibbutz is planted firmly in the minds of my officials. I think it would be fascinating to turn our highlands into that kind of system."[186] While the Guatemalan military officers point to the kibbutz, it is by no means the only example employed in the design and

construction of the "model villages." As was pointed out above, the Guatemalan military is familiar with efforts of massive social control such as in South Africa, the "strategic hamlets" employed by the U.S. in Vietnam, and the French experience in Algeria. As the Guatemalan military officials point out, Israeli military advisors teach courses about other counterinsurgency experiences. Whatever the model, the forced relocation of hundreds of thousands of Guatemalans is a massive effort at social control by the Guatemalan government.[187]

Social control is designed to destroy Indian culture. For the Guatemalan military this is necessary to break a political movement whose strength is based in part on its culture. In the countryside, social control involves the following scenario: The Guatemalan military rounds up civilians suspected of working with the guerrillas and concentrates them in "model villages." Peasants are brought in from their small scattered plots and located in a reduced area laid out in a grid pattern.[188] A military guard standing in a watchtower can look at his chart which lists the houses by number, match them with a list of families and their members, and determine who is allowed to be on a particular street at any given time. An updated list of people's whereabouts is turned in every twenty-four hours by members of the "civil patrol," now numbering 900,000 members in a country of less than eight million.[189] According to government plans, in the future peasants in the new model villages will be allowed to grow only crops for export such as wheat, soy beans, and strawberries.

The model village project is, of course, very expensive. From 1977 to 1984 the Guatemalans could get by without great sums of U.S. military aid. This was so partially because they had the cash reserves to buy from Israel. Today, however, the massive effort at social control requires amounts of capital far beyond the resouces of the Guatemalan economy. The Reagan administration would like to underwrite at least some of this expensive social experiment. It is likely that a good portion of the $10 million in military aid and an additional $24 million for use in military support efforts approved by the U.S. Congress for Guatemala for the year will go into the model villages.

The Munitions Plant and Beyond

Israel has gone considerably beyond providing arms, advisors, and technology. It is now involved in the financing and development of an arms and munitions factory in Guatemala. Latin American Newsletters from London reported in August 1984 that "Guatemala

is now producing Israeli Galil rifles in a plant in Coban, Alta Verapaz.[190] In the 1986 *Ha'aretz* interview, General Benedicto Lucas stated that Israeli "advisors set up a munitions factory for us and after building it, trained us to operate it. But now the factory is being run by Guatemalans."[191] Guatemala is the only Central American country with a munitions plant.[192]

When early reports of the existence of a munitions plant in Guatemala were made public in October of 1983, Guatemalan president Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores vehemently denied them.[193] Yet by December of the same year the head of the army public relations, Colonel Edgar D'jalma Dominguez, commented: "When the United States cut off our aid, we were forced to look for solutions, so we began by making bullets and rifle parts."[194]

The muntions plant, located in Santa Cruz Verapaz, Alta Verapaz, is about 125 miles north of Guatemala city and was constructed with Israeli capital and technology.[195] Israeli technicians set up the military factory, originally intended to manufacture only ammunition.[196] Colonel D'jalma Dominguez confirmed that the plant was producing 70 percent of the parts needed to manufacture Israeli-designed Galil rifles, as well as mortars,[197] and an armor-plating process for military vehicles. A combat tank produced in the plant, called the "Armadillo," is reportedly resistant to the land mines used by the guerrillas.[198] D'jalma Dominguez said the factory would be capable of building grenade launchers. "Little by little, we will be able to supply all our own arms."[199]

Central America Report writes that 30 percent of the production of the Guatemalan munitions plant will be sold to El Salvador and Honduras.[200] Proposed sales to Central American countries give credence to a report from the Guatemalan guerrillas that right-wing governments of the region have agreed to standardize weapons and military supplies.[201]

In April, 1984 a potentially more important Israeli-Guatemalan joint venture in the arms production field was reported. According to the "Plan de San Marcos," Guatemala, Israel and the United States had reached an agreement to produce Kfir jet aircraft in Guatemala.[202] The Kfir production would be part of a large joint military industrial complex to be built in Guatemala with capital from the three countries. The United States would put up $200 million, Israel $80 milllion and Guatemala an unspecified amount. The project would represent a significant expansion of Israel's role in Guatemala and also represent a further escalation in Israel's role as

a regional arms supplier. The Guatemalan government and the Israeli embassy in Guatemala "have specifically denied that this military-industrial project exists."[203] But the Guatemalan government earlier denied that it was building a munitions plant until it became all too obvious.

Concluding Notes

There is no question that Israel has been instrumental in enabling the Guatemalan security forces to carry out a more efficient counter-insurgency policy. Israeli aid makes it possible for the Guatemalan military to implement its police-state agenda. The Israelis have provided key advice, technology, war materiel and industrial capability. The difficulty of documenting specific arms sales cannot hide the now manifest reality that the Israelis have been able to outfit the entire Guatemalan army, from helmets to standard automatic rifles. The Guatemalan military does not hide the fact that it is very grateful to the Israelis for these services.

Perhaps in the long term, the most crucial aspect of the Israeli's military aid to Guatemala is not the volume of armaments they provide, or the number of their advisors involved, but their experience with and knowledge of the mechanisms of social control and sophisticated techniques in battling an internal enemy. The Guatemalan military knows what it needs to do, and that is to control its own population. What it needs to achieve that control is technology. This includes sophisticated communications equipment; the construction of the "Armadillo," the computer technology to control the urban population more effectively, advice and assistance in the construction of the "model villages" and the completion of what the Guatemalan military hopes will be a successful counterinsurgency program—the pacification and near total control of the rural population.

From 1977 to early 1986 this technological aid went to a government that was among the worst human rights violators in the world, to a government that met any opposition to it with threats of death, where military and paramilitary death squads operated with impunity, and where the democratic aspirations of a people were systematically repressed. Although the new civilian government of President Vinicio Cerezo hopes to curb the abuses of the security forces, he has not yet been able to do so. The Israelis deny some aspects of their involvement, have no comment on other parts and explain away the rest

through the "special relationship." The bottom line is that Israel contributes to the state terrorism in Guatemala through its aid and advice. In February 1986, Guatemalan Defense Minister General Jaime Hernandez announced that "Recently, Moshe Dayan, Israeli ambassador to Guatemala, offered military cooperation to Guatemala."[204]

When asked why Israel, in view of the U.S. arms embargo, sells weapons to Guatemala, an Israeli embassy official in Guatemala told a U.S. journalist: "We would rather sell them toys, I assure you, but it is weapons they want to buy, and we have to keep making weapons to remain an efficient source of supply for our own army."[205] As long as Israel continues to supply weapons and advice to retard the development of a democratic sector, one can assume that many Guatemalans will increasingly view Israel as an enemy.

Notes

1. Section 660 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974 prohibits aid to foreign police forces, intelligence operations and penal systems (Holly Burkhalter and Alita Paine, "Our Overseas Cops," *The Nation,* 14 September 1985, 197). In June 1985 the *New York Times* reported that the U.S. was training and supervising police in El Salvador despite the ban (James Le Moyne, "Duarte Meets F.B.I. on Raid Inquiry," *New York Times,* 27 June 1985). According to a confidential State Department memorandum to the White House in August 1985, the Reagan administration has put together a package to fight terrorism in Central America. Half of this new aid was earmarked for police assistance (Alfonso Chardy, "53 Million Proposed to Help U.S. Allies Combat Terrorism," *Houston Chronicle,* 7 August 1985). See also Daniel Siegel and Joy Hackel, "Will We Give Aid to Repression in Third World?" *Newsday* 18 November 1985.

2. Aharon Klieman, *Israeli Arms Sales: Perspectives and Prospects* (Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Paper no. 24, February 1984), 41. Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes, adviser to Salvadoran president Duarte commented in an interview: "The Israeli lobby in the U.S. Congress has worked for us more than before." ("Israelis, Arabs Courting Central American Allies," *Houston Post,* 18 August 1985.)

3. Edy Kaufman, Yoram Shapira, and Joel Barromi, *Israel-Latin American Relations* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1979), 108. See also "Nicaragua: Israel Helps Out," *Newsweek,* 20 November 1978, 68; Bishara Assad Bahbah, *The Military Dimension in Israeli-Latin American Relations* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1983), 95, and "A Backward Glance: Reckoning Israel's Debt to the Somozas," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1 no. 1 (December 1984): 3.

4. Aaron S. Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach: Arms Sales As Diplomacy* (New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985), 133.

5. Matti Golan, *Shimon Peres: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 81.

6. Cynthia Arnson, "Israel and Central America," *New Outlook,* March/April 1984, 20. While Israeli arms sales to Nicaragua did not attract international attention in the 1950s, there was criticism of the sales within Israel. The director-general of the Israeli foreign ministry wrote to Shimon Peres, the person who orchestrated the Nicaragua

deal, "We really put our foot in it with the Nicaraguan arms deal. All the countries of Latin America shun (Nicaragua) because of its foreign policy and domestic regime. It's a shame that you failed to consult the Foreign Ministry before going through with this deal. You know as well as I do that we are very dependent on the Latin American bloc in the United Nations, which includes twenty countries. We cannot disregard their feelings. Therefore, I am asking you immediately to order that any new deal with Nicaragua be cancelled and that shipments which have not yet gone out be held up." (Letter from Walter Eytan, Director General of the Foreign Ministry to Shimon Peres, 5 July 1957, quoted in Golan, 81.)

7. For details on the history of Nicaragua and the struggle of the FSLN see Richard Millett, *Guardians of the Dynasty* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1977); Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983); John Booth, *The End and the Beginning: The Nicaraguan Revolution,* 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985), and George Black, *Triumph of the People: The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua* (London: Zed Press, 1981).

8. Marc Edelman, "Lifelines: Nicaragua and the Socialist Countries," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 19 (no. 3, May/June 1985): 37; "Nicaragua: Israel Helps Out," *Newsweek,* 20 November 1978, 68.

9. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), *World Armaments and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook 1980* (London: Taylor & Francis Limited, 1980), 96.

10. Arnson, 1984, 20.

11. "Israel's Presence in Central America: Fuzzing a Legitimate Issue," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 4 (March 1985): 6; "Problems From the Barrels of Israeli Guns," *Latin America Weekly Report,* 16 May 1980, 9; *Latin American Economic Report* ("Arms for the Poor of Latin America," 11 August 1978, 243) from London reported in 1978 that Israel provided 98 percent of Nicaragua's arms imports between 1970 and 1976.

12. "Nicaragua: Israel Helps Out," *Newsweek,* 20 November 1978, 68.

13. Robert B. Cullen, "U.S. Won't Attempt to Prevent Israeli Arms Sales to Somoza," *Miami Herald,* 18 November 1978. The same official said that applying pressure on Israel to stop the shipments remained an option for the U.S. that might be used in the future. The official also commented that although there is no legal means of stopping Israel from shipping Israeli-manufactured weapons, "the United States has sufficient influence with Israel to stop the shipments if it chooses." In fact the U.S. did pressure Israel to stop arming Somoza, but it was only two weeks before he was toppled in July 1979.

14. Smith Hempstone, "It's Logical for Israel to Continue Supplying Weapons to Nicaragua," *Washington Post,* 3 December 1978.

15. Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), *Human Rights in Latin America 1983* (Washington, D.C.: COHA, February 1984), 56. In late 1985 COHA published a special report by Franz Schneiderman, "Bending Swords Into Plowshares: An Investigation of the Tensions Between Israel and Nicaragua," that details the charges of anti-Semitism.

16. The Nicaraguan Jewish community before 1979 consisted of 65 families and "was largely engaged in industry and commerce and prospered economically under Somoza." Judith Laiken Elkin, "Latin American Jewry Today," *American Jewish Yearbook 1985* (New York and Philadelphia: American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Publication Society of America, 1985): 38.

17. Edward Cody, "Managua's Jews Reject Anti-Semitism Charge," *Washington Post,* 29 August 1983.

18. Laurie Becklund, "Sandinistas Are Anti-Semitic, Group Charges," *Los Angeles Times,* 14 March 1985.

19. Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 58. Judith Elkin points out that in Latin America often no distinction is made between Israel and the Jews of Latin America. She notes: "The continuing identification of local Jews, *israelitas,* with *israelis,* citizens of Israel, has done nothing to clarify distinctions between the two." *(The Hostage Jewish Communities of Latin America,* Paper presented to the XII International Congress of Latin American Studies Association, Albuquerque, N.M., April 18-20,1985, 8-9).

20. Cody, 29 August 1983. In his address of March 16, 1986, President Reagan again raised the anti-Semitism issue charging that "the entire Jewish community [was] forced to flee Nicaragua." "Central American and U.S. Security," United States Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs *Current Policy* No. 805 (Washington, D.C.), 3. For responses to the accusations see "Remark by Reagan Disputed by Rabbi," *New York Times,* 19 March 1986 and Alexander Reid, "Jewish League Reports on Bias in Nicaragua," *New York Times,* 20 March 1986.

21. Cody, 29 August 1983.

22. A group of progressive Israeli Knesset members, after visiting Nicaragua in 1984, felt that the anti-Semitism issue had "been blown way out of proportion by the Reagan administration, in order to encourage American Jews to support its policies in Central America." (Aaron Alpern, "Mapam Links with Sandinistas," *Progressive Israel,* no. 5, November-December 1984, 7).

23. Becklund, 14 March 1985; see also Laurie Becklund, "Lobbying Effort for Contras Launched in L.A.," *Los Angeles Times,* 5 March 1985.

24. See "Israel and the United States," *Israeli Foreign Affairs,* 1, no. 9 (September 1985): 4, for a discussion of the contra aid and U.S. assistance to Israel.

25. New Jewish Agenda, *Report of the Jewish Human Rights Delegation to Nicaragua* (New York: New Jewish Agenda, 1984), 11.

26. Ibid.; see also Alan Epstein, "A Jewish 'Witness for Peace'," *Genesis 2,* February/March, 1985; "Sandinistas and Anti-Semitism: Reagan's Charges Are Challenged," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America,* 4 May 1984, 5; "Sandinista Policies Said Not to Be Anti-Semitic," *Washington Post,* 19 August 1984; Ilana De Bare, "On Nicaragua's Jews," *New York Times,* 13 September 1983, and Ilana De Bare and Paul Glickman, "Discrimination or Disinformation? U.S. Accuses Nicaragua of Anti-Semitism," *Nicaraguan Perspectives,* 7(Winter 1983): 37-38.

27. Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, *Who Are the Contras?* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Congress, 1985), 3. For detail on the contras see Christoper Dickey, *With the Contras: A Reporter in the Wilds of Nicaragua* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).

28. Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, 3.

29. Edward Cody, "Nicaraguan Rebels Go Covert Again," *Washington Post,* 12 November 1983.

30. "Reagan's Unseen Ally in Central America," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 1 (December 1984): 1. Chamorro has since left the contras and has been openly critical of them. For details see Edgar Chamorro with Jefferson Morley, "Confessions of a 'Contra': How the CIA Masterminds the Nicaraguan Insurgency," *The New Republic,* 5 August 1985, 18-23.

31. Philip Taubman, "Israel Said to Aid Latin Aims of U.S.: Seized P.L.O. Arms Reported Going to Nicaragua Rebels," *New York Times,* 21 July 1983. More recently, the Tel Aviv daily newspaper, *Ma'ariv* reports that the contras were being supplied by Israel through Honduras. ("Israel and Central America: Contras Get 'Honduran' Ordinance," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America,* 14 February 1986, 5.

32. *Facts on File Yearbook 1984* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985), 382.

33. Kai Bird and Max Holland, "Dispatches," *The Nation,* 28 September 1985, 272-273. "Panel Approves Plan to Bar Aid to Contras, " *Houston Chronicle,* 29 March 1985.

34. "NBC Nightly News," Television transcript, Fred Francis on assignment in Honduras/Nicaragua, 23 April 1984.

35. Ibid.

36. "An Israeli Connection?" *Time,* 7 May 1984, 75.

37. "Reagan's Unseen Ally in Central America," 1.

38. Ibid. See also Doyle McManus, "Sandinista Foes Turn Toward Israel for Aid," *Los Angeles Times,* 16 April 1984.

39. Ibid., 6. This article by Jane Hunter is the most insightful piece that we were able to find on the Israel-U.S. contra connection. It not only brings together a great deal of information but gives an analytical perspective which helps to understand the

separate agendas of the three groups involved as well as their shared interests.

40. Ibid., 6. Klieman, 1985, 49.

41. John M. Goshko, "Israel Discusses Increasing Aid to Third World Countries," *Washington Post,* 27 April 1984.

42. "Reagan's Unseen Ally in Central America," 6.

43. "Israeli Official Denies Plans to Supply Arms to Contras," *Miami Herald,* 29 April 1984; see also "U.S. Denies Plan to Give Funds to Israel for Covert Actions," *Houston Chronicle,* 21 April 1984.

44. "Israel Denies Providing Arms to the Nicaraguan Insurgents," *New York Times* 27 April 1984.

45. Victor Perera, "Uzi Diplomacy: How Israel Makes Friends and Enemies Around the World," *Mother Jones,* July 1985, 46.

46. Klieman, 1985, 197.

47. Ignacio Klich, "Israel: Pro the Contras," *Guardian* (London) 11 October 1985. See also "Updates," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 11 (November 1985): 3ff. See also Jack Colhoun, "Contra Weapons Conduit Goes Through Tel Aviv," *Guardian* (New York), 16 April 1986, and "Israel and Central America: Contras Get 'Honduran' Ordnance."

48. Philip Taubman, "Nicaragua Rebels Reported to Have New Flow of Arms," *New York Times,* 13 January 1985.

49. "White House Role in Fund Raising for Rebels is Revealed," *Houston Chronicle,* 8 October 1985. See also Robert Parry, "President Linked to Secret Aid," *Washington Post,* 8 October 1985.

50. "Israel's Presence in Central America: Fuzzing a Legitimate Issue," 6.

51. Edelman, 1985, 37. A *Miami Herald* reporter, Juan O. Tamayo, reported in 1985 that the PLO trained "at least 150 Sandinistas in Lebanon during the 1960s and 1970s." Tamayo's source was a former Israeli intelligence agent who used to live in Nicaragua. Juan O. Tamayo, "World's Leftists Find A Haven in Nicaragua," *Miami Herald,* 3 March 1985. This figure seems unlikely because the FSLN was a small organization during this period. Edelman doubts that there were even fifty Sandinistas in the late 1960s.

52. New Jewish Agenda, 1984, 8. For exaggerated reports of the PLO-Nicaragua relationship see "Sandinista-PLO Ties Alleged in Report by U.S.," *Houston Chronicle,* 11 July 1985; David J. Kopilow, *Castro, Israel & the PLO* (Washington, D.C.; Cuban American National Foundaiton, 1984), 12-14, and U.S. Department of State, *The Sandinistas and Middle East Radicals* (Washington: GPO, August 1985).

53. "Nicaragua: Efforts to Heal," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 3 (February 1985): 2.

54. New Jewish Agenda: 8. See also Joanne Omang, "Nicaragua Said Open to Resuming Ties With Israel," *Washington Post,* 24 August 1984.

55. Ignacio Klich, "Israel and Nicaragua: Mapam Nails a Lie," *Middle East International,* 9 November 1984, 11; see also Omang, 24 August 1984; "Israeli Policy Shift on Region?" *Latin America Regional Report: Mexico and Central America,* 11 January 1985, 4-5; "Israel's Part in Central America," *Central America Report,* 7 December 1984, 383.

56. New Jewish Agenda: 8.

57. "Rights Violations Persist," *Central America Report,* 12 July 1985, 204-205.

58. Cynthia Arnson, "Israel and Central America," *New Outlook,* March/April 1984, 19.

59. Kaufman, Shapira, and Barromi, 106.

60. Cynthia Arnson, "Arms Race in Central America," *The Nation,* 10 March 1979, 267. See also Lee Lescaze, "Israel Plane Sale Eyed for Violation of American Law," *Washington Post,* 14 January 1977.

61. Arnson, 1979, 267.

62. Edward Cody, "Sharon to Discuss Arms Sales to Honduras," *Washington Post,* 7 December 1982; Clarence Lusane, "Washington's Proxy: Israeli Arms Sales in Central America," *Covert Action,* no. 20 (Winter 1984): 34; Adrian J. English, *Armed Forces of Latin America* (London: Jane's Publishing Company Limited, 1984), 286-293.

63. Mark Hewish, et al, *Air Forces of the World: An Illustrated Directory of All of the World's Military Powers* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1979), 46. See also *Defense and Foreign Affairs Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: The Perth Company, 1985), 278, and Cody, 1982.

64. Steve Goldfield, *Garrison State: Israel's Role in U.S. Global Strategy* (San Francisco: Palestine Focus Publications, 1985), 46.

65. "What's Sharon Doing in Tegucigalpa?," *Central America Report,* 17 December 1982, 389. Within three weeks of his return to Israel from Honduras, the head of the Israeli Air Force, General David Ivri became president of Israel Aircraft Industries. Ignacio Klich, "Israel y America Latina: el desafio de un compromiso mayor al lado de Washington," *Le Monde Diplomatique en Espanol,* February 1983, 17.

66. "Israel May Sell Arms to Honduras, Sharon Says After Meeting with Chiefs," *New York Times,* 8 December 1982. See also Dial Torgerson, "Sharon in Honduras, Hinting at Weapons Sales," *Los Angeles Times,* 8 December 1982, and "Honduran Says Sharon Made Arms Deal," *Jerusalem Post,* 10 December 1982.

67. Susan Morgan, "Israel Selling Fighter Jets, Tanks to Honduras?" *Christian Science Monitor,* 14 December 1982. See also "Israel Reportedly to Sell Weapons to Honduras," *Houston Chronicle,* 10 December 1982; Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel. and the Palestinians* (Boston: South End Press, 1983), 24, and "Honduran Says Sharon Made Arms Deal," *Jerusalem Post,* 10 December 1982. Jane Hunter points out that the Kfir deal would be in the range of $100 million and probably could be arranged only with U.S. financing. "Sharon Met Contras in 1982," *Israeli Foreign Affairs,* 1, no. 10 (October 1985): 1.

68. Edy Kaufman, "The View From Jerusalem," *The Washington Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (Fall 1984), 42-43.

69. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (Daily Report, Middle East), "[Sharon] Denies Military Deal," 13 December 1982, I-6 [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew, 12 December 1982].

70. Morgan, 1982.

71. Gelb, "Israelis Said to Step Up Role . . . "

72. For background on El Salvador, see Philip Russell, *El Salvador in Crisis* (Austin, Texas: Colorado River Press, 1984); Enrique Baloyra, *El Salvador in Transition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); and Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions.* For specific information relating to the 1969 war see Thomas P. Anderson, *The War of the Dispossessed: Honduras and El Salvador, 1969* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), and William Durham, *Scarcity and Survival in Central America: Ecological Origins of the Soccer War* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1979).

73. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 1980, 97. See also Larry Remer, "Israeli Weapons Industry Goes Boom: But Its Arms Draw Fire As a Moral Issue Abroad," *Los Angeles Times,* 29 July 1981. Klieman concurs with the 80 percent figure adding that this represented 6 percent of Israeli military exports. The figures are somewhat confusing because Klieman gives no specific time period. Klieman, 1985, 134.

74. Arnson, 1984, 21; Lusane, 35; English, 411.

75. Kaufman, 1984, 45.

76. "Israel May Aid El Salvador," *The New Mexican,* 17 August 1983.

77. "Israel Denies It Plans Salvador Military Aid," *New York Times,* 23 April 1984.

78. Yoseph Pri'el, "The Well-Known Benefactor," *Davar* (Tel Aviv) 3 January 1982. Francisco Guerra y Guerra, transcript of interview with Jane Hunter, 26 January and 10 April 1983, 8. See also "Israel's Part in Central America," II, 387, and Schofield Coryell, "Israel: U.S. Proxy in Latin America, Africasia," August/September, 1984.

79. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (Daily Report, Middle East-Africa), "Pentagon Wants Advisors for El Salvador," 4 May 1984, I-6 [Tel Aviv *Davar* in Hebrew, 3 May 1984.]

80. "Keeping Track: Israeli Computers in Guatemala and El Salvador," *Israeli Foreign*

Affairs 1, no. 4 (March 1985): 3.

81. Jane Hunter, "Interview with Francisco Guerra y Guerra," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 2 (January 1985), 8. In addition to gathering intelligence, ANSESAL—El Salvador's executive intelligence agency—was used to carry out death-squad activities in the late 1970s according to Salvadoran and U.S. officials. Craig Pyes, *Salvadoran Rightists: The Deadly Patriots* (Albuquerque: Albuquerque Journal, 1984), 6.

82. Mary Jo McConahay, "Country Club Assassination—Salvador's War Comes Back to the Capital," *Pacific News Service,* 6 March 1985. Colonel Lopez Nuila visited military and police installations in Guatemala in May 1985 where he received advice on urban counterinsurgency. "Assistance to El Salvador," *Enforprensa* 17 May 1985, 3.

83. Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, *El Salvador 1983,* (Boston: UUSC, 1983). See also Wayne Biddle, "Salvador Officer Cited Napalm Use," *New York Times,* 9 October 1984.

84. "A Burning Question in El Salvador," *Newsweek,* 8 October 1984, 17.

85. Biddle.

86. "Israel's Salvadoran Protege," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 5 (April 1985): 6.

87. Julia Preston, "Ochoa a Good Fighter But Too Independent for Salvadoran Army," *Christian Science Monitor,* 13 January 1983.

88. Chris Hedges, "Salvadoran Army Attempts to Mobilize Civilians," *Dallas Morning News,* 21 January 1985.

89. "Israel's Salvadoran Protege," 6.

90. "Costa Rica: Bigger Role for Security Forces," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America,* 8 June 1984, 7.

91. "Costa Rica," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 11 (November 1985): 8.

92. Jacques Lemieux, "El papel de Israel en Centroamerica," *Le Monde Diplomatique en Espanol,* October 1984.

93. Michael Rubner, *Israel and Latin America: The Politics of Bilateral Economic Aid* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 193. See also Kaufman, Shapira, and Barromi, 105.

94. Gelb, *New York Times,* 17 December 1982.

95. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (Daily Report, Latin America) "Costa Rica: Israelis Said Aiding Intelligence Training," 5 December 1983, P-3 [News story from San Jose "Radio Reloj" in Spanish, 4 December 1983].

96. Kaufman, 1984, 47.

97. Frank Greve, "Israel Could Fill the Gap if U.S. Aid Funds Cut," *Miami Herald,* 27 May 1984. See also Bernd Debusmann. "After Embassy Flap, A Look at Israel's Latin Arms Role," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* 24 April 1984.

98. Jack Anderson, "U.S., Israel Working Costa Rica Land Deal," *Austin American-Statesman,* 14 February 1983.

99. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (Daily Report, Middle East-Africa) " 'Door is Open' for Military Aid to Costa Rica," 27 October 1982, I-17 [Tel Aviv *Yedi'ot Aharonot* in Hebrew, 25 October 1982]. The Israeli consulting firm, Tahal, was also involved in the project. Dial Torgerson, "Frontier Area No Longer Neglected," *Los Angeles Times,* 23 May 1983.

Settlements in an area of conflict is not a new innovation to Israeli assistance programs. Klieman writes: "The unique Israeli formula of combining agricultural and military programs is demonstrated again in the approved plan for strengthening security in Zaire's mineral rich southern Shaba province on the border with Angola by establishing a line of farming settlements similiar to IDF [Israeli Defense Forces] paramilitary pioneering youth Nahal units to be manned by the elite Camaniola division armed and trained by Israeli officers," Klieman, 1985, 155.

100. For detail on Costa Rica's role in the U.S. attempts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government see Richard J. Walton, "How the U.S. Is Changing Costa Rica," *The Nation,* 5 October 1985, 297ff, and Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan, "The Carlos File," *The Nation,* 5 October 1985, 311ff.

101. Arnson, 1984, 22.

102. *Central America Report,* 14 December 1984, 387.

103. Hector Frances, "The War of Terror Against Nicaragua," *The Black Scholar* 14, no. 2 (March/April 1983): 12.

104. Ibid.

105. "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather," Television transcript. Bob Simon reports from Guatemala, 16 February 1983.

106. Ibid.

107. "Israeli Arms for Sale," *Time,* March 28, 1983, 36.

108. For detail on the 1954 coup see Richard Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1982), and Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (New York: Doubleday, 1982).

109. There are no precise figures on the number of noncombatant victims of political violence in Guatemala since 1954. The 70,000 to 110,000 estimates are drawn from Inforpress Centroamericana, a news agency in Guatemala which closely monitors the country's political and economic situation. For more detail on the human rights situation in Guatemala in the early 1980s see the reports by Amnesty International and Americas Watch listed in the bibliography.

110. Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *Central America: A Nation Divided,* 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 243.

111. Clifford Krauss, "Guatemala Will Elect a Civilian, But Will He Control the Military?" *The Wall Street Journal,* 30 October 1985.

112. Schlesinger and Kinzer, 239-241; LaFeber, 168.

113. While "death squads" are often described as vigilante groups from the right that operate out of the control of the government, in reality they are a well-planned component of counterinsurgency policy. Most so-called "death squad" activity in Guatemala is directed by the military. The use of counterterror was first applied in Guatemala in 1966. In an effort to wipe out the insurgency, the U.S. introduced the concept of state use of terror. The result was that from 8,000 to 10,000 civilians were killed in addition to several dozen combatants. For more details on this see McClintock. See also Allan Nairn, "Behind the Death Squads," *The Progressive,* May 1984, 20-29; and Craig Pyes, *Salvadoran Rightists: The Deadly Patriots,* (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1983).

114. "Prepared Statement of Amnesty International U.S.A.," U.S. Congress, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Human Rights in Guatemala: Hearing Before the Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Relations and International Organizations and Inter-American Affairs,* 97th Cong., 1st sess., July 30, 1981, 137.

115. A recent report from the Washington Office on Latin America, *Security and Development Conditions in the Guatemalan Highlands,* by Chris Krueger and Kjell Enge (Washington, D.C.: 1985), estimates between 50,000 and 75,000 Guatemalans were killed in political violence between 1978 and 1984. Victor Perera uses the figure 45,000 for the period between 1978 and the present. "Uzi Diplomacy: How Israel Makes Friends and Enemies Around the World," *Mother Jones,* July 1985, 40. Piero Gleijeses cites figures of from 40,000 to 100,000 "who have died in recent years." "The Guatemalan Silence," *The New Republic,* 10 June 1985, 20.

116. "Guatemala: Vice-President Gives Up the Struggle," *Latin America Weekly Report,* 5 September 1980, 3. See also Amnesty International, *Guatemala: A Government Program of Political Murder* (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1981), 5.

117. U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, "U.S. Central American Policy at a Crossroads," *Current Policy* No. 572 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, May 2, 1984), 6.

118. National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, *Report* [Kissinger Commission Report] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), 100.

119. Ibid.

120. "Prepared Statement of Amnesty International U.S.A.," 136-137.

121. *Oral Statement by the Honorable Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-*

American Affairs Before the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, April 21, 1982, 4.

122. George Black, "Israeli Connection: Not Just Guns for Guatemala," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 17, no. 3 (May/June 1983), 44.

123. Dial Torgerson, "Guatemalan Army, Left-Wing Guerrillas Escalate Fighting," *Houston Chronicle,* 26 January 1982.

124. Jorge Mario Reyes, "Israel: un pais que se preocupa por su juventud," *Revista Militar* (Guatemala) 50 (October-November-December 1965), 30-45.

125. McClintock, 194.

126. "Israel's Part in Central America" (II), *Central America Report,* 14 December 1984, 386; Great Britain and Guatemala have been involved in a dispute over Belize since the mid-nineteenth century, but the conflict dates back much further. Although the Spanish never settled the area which is now Belize, they did lay legal claim to the territory. Guatemala's claim is based upon the earlier Spanish one. The agreement which is the basis of discussion of the Guatemalan claim today is the Anglo-Guatemalan Treaty of 1859. The British viewed this as a boundary treaty setting limits to an area to which British sovereignty was already established. The Guatemalans, however, saw it as a treaty of cession which was conditional upon Great Britain helping the Guatemalans build a road to the Caribbean. Because the road was not built, the Guatemalans claim that the treaty lapsed, and that Britain has no sovereignty over Belize. On several occasions in the 1970s Guatemala threatened to invade Belize. Milton Jamail, "Belize: Still Struggling for Independence," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 18, no. 3 (May/June 1984): 10.

127. "Israel's Part in Central America" (II), 386.

128. This language from the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974 is often shortened to "gross and consistent violations of human rights."

129. Bahbah, Bishara Assad, *The Military Dimension in Israeli-Latin American Relations* (Ph.d. dissertation, Harvard University, 1983), 88.

130. Eric Hooglund, *Israel's Arms Exports: Proxy Merchant for the U.S.* ADC Background Paper No. 8 (Washington, D.C.: American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, April 1982), 13. Klieman states that "it further helps to maintain a sense of proportion by recalling that Israel is not the principal military supplier to any single country." Klieman, 1984, 6. An overwhelming amount of evidence cited in this chapter shows Klieman to be mistaken.

131. Mario Menendez Rodriguez, "Un ejercito del pueblo combate en Guatemala a los hombres bestias," *Por Esto!* (Mexico City) 10 December 1981, 38.

132. "Problems From the Barrels of Israeli Guns," *Latin America Weekly Report,* 16 May 1980, 10; See also Tim Coone, "Israel's Dangerous Exports," *New Statesman,* 9 May 1980, 705.

133. Rarihokwats, *Guatemala: The Horror and the Hope* (York, Pa.: Four Arrows, 1982), 106.

134. Penny Lernoux, " 'Who's Who of Dictators' Obtain Arms From Israel," *National Catholic Reporter,* 25 December 1981.

135. Coone, 705.

136. Ibid. A number of articles mention the relations between the Israelis and Guatemalans concerning the purchase of Kfir sophisticated jet aircraft. As early as 1979 John Keegan wrote, "Guatemala is now negotiating to buy a small number of Kfir-C2 fighters from Israel," in *World Armies* (New York: Facts on File, 1979). The negotiations on the sale "were stalled because the Kfir—which uses an American-made engine—is thereby blocked by US legislation prohibiting the sale of Israeli weapons systems using US-manufactured components," Black, Jamail, and Chinchilla, 155. For more detail on these restrictions see Klieman, 1984, 45-46. In 1981 the *Latin America Weekly Report* stated that "Israeli instructors are also training Guatemalan pilots in the use of Kfir jets," 18 December 1981. In July 1984 the *Israel Economist* reported that Israeli arms sales to Guatemala included Kfirs, "Selling Defense," 23. Obviously the Guatemalans

are interested in purchasing the Kfir and undoubtedly the Israelis are anxious to sell the plane. As of now, however, there is no evidence that any Kfirs have been delivered to Guatemala. In his charts on arms deliveries to Central America, however, Klieman lists Kfirs among the items going to Guatemala. Klieman, 1985, 135.

137. "International Arms Transfers to Central America Since 1969," *Update* (Central American Historical Institute, Georgetown University) 3, no. 21 (9 July 1984): 3.

138. Israel Aircraft Industries Ltd., *Arava* (Tel Aviv: Israel Aircraft Industries, n.d.), 7.

139. Yoav Karni, "The Israel-Guatemala Connection," *Al Fajr—Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly,* 14 February 1986.

140. Cynthia Arnson, "Arms Race in Central America," *The Nation,* 10 March 1979, 267.

141. *SIPRI Yearbook 1980,* 97.

142. Robert Graham, "Barter Revisited: Latin America Takes a Fresh Look at Countertrade," *Houston Chronicle,* 11 February 1985. This is the first article to make mention of Israeli helicopter sales to Guatemala. In March 1985, General Rodolfo Lobos Zamora, upon returning to Guatemala from a trip to Israel, stated that "several air force helicopters are undergoing repairs and reconditioning in Israel," "Israeli Aid 'No Secret'," *Enfoprensa* (Washington, D.C.), 8 March 1985, 2.

143. Karni. See also Dial Torgerson, "U.S. Not Only Arms Supplier in Central America," *Houston Chronicle,* 17 January 1983.

144. James Nelson Goodsell, "Growing Arms Race in Central America May Heat Up Region," *Christian Science Monitor,* 28 October 1981.

145. Christopher Dickey, "Guatemala Uses U.S. 'Civilian' Copters in Warfare," *Washington Post,* 23 January 1984.

146. Gelb, *New York Times,* 17 December 1982.

147. English, 260.

148. Ronald Slaughter, "Israel Arms Trade: Cozying Up to Latin America," *NACLA Report on the Americas,* 16, no. 1 (January/February 1982): 52.

149. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (Daily Report, Latin America), "Guatemala: Weapons Shipment," 24 January 1984, P-13. [News summary from Guatemala City EFE in Spanish, 18 January 1984].

150. "Israeli Arms," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America,* 13 January 1984, 8. See also "Israel and Central America," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America, 14 February 1986, 5.*

151. "Israel's Part in Central America" (II), *Central America Report,* 14 December 1984, 386.

152. Arnson, 1984, 20.

153. "Moderna escuela de transmisiones y electronica del ejercito inaugurada," *Diario de Centro America* (Guatemala), 5 November 1981. Klieman reports that DEGEM Systems has "military maintenance and training projects in some sixty countries." Klieman, 1985, 88.

154. John Rettie, "Arms and Equipment From Israel Help Fight Against Guerrillas," *The Guardian* (London), 29 December 1981.

155. "Moderna escuela de transmisiones y electronica del ejercito inaugurada."

156. Rettie.

157. Beit-Hallahmi, 1985, 3.

158. Karni. See also Allan Nairn and Jean-Marie Simon, "Bureaucracy of Death," *The New Republic,* 30 June 1986, 13-17.

159. Rettie.

160. "Interview with Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi," *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 1 (December 1984): 8.

161. Rettie. See also "Guatemala: Fighting In the Streets," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America,* 14 August 1981, 13-14.

162. Christopher Dickey, "Guatemala Uses U.S. 'Civilian' Copters in Warfare," *Washington Post,* 23 January 1982.

163. Karni.

164. "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather," 16 February 1983; Gelb, 17 December 1982; see also Ruth L. Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditure, 1983* (Washington, D.C.: World Priorities, 1983), 9.

165. "Arabs, Israel Clash in C.A.," *This Week Central America and Panama,* 25 October 1982, 332.

166. "Latin Letter," *Latin America Weekly Report,* 6 August 1982, 3.

167. Black, 1983, 44.

168. The Mexican press reported in March 1985 that an agreement had been reached under which 200 Israeli Mossad agents would go to Guatemala to train Guatemala's elite Kaibil troops. Cited in "Chronology of Relations Between Guatemala and its Supporters," *Enfoprensa,* Special Supplement, August 1985, 4.

169. "Lobos Visits Israel, Vatican," *Enfoprensa* (Washington, D.C.), 1 March 1983, 3. See also "Israeli Aid 'No Secret'," *Enfoprensa* (Washington, D.C.), 8 March 1985, 2.

170. Stephen Kinzer, "Guatemala Chief Confronts Crisis, " *New York Times,* 13 April 1985. See also "Guatemala Embassy Move?" *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 8 (July-August 1985): 2.

171. McClintock, 193; Black, 1983: 44.

172. For detail on the guerrilla movement in the 1960s see Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972), Eduardo Galeano, *Guatemala: Occupied Country* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969) and Regis Debray *A Critique of Arms: The Revolution on Trial,* Volume II (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1978).

173. The involvement of the Indian communities—which represent half of Guatemala's population—is considered by many Guatemalans to be one of the most significant political events in the history of the country. For details on the guerrillas of the 1970s and 1980s see Marta Harnecker, *Pueblos en armas,* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1984).

174. Rettie.

175. Stephen Kinzer, "Arms Sales Reportedly Curbed," *Boston Globe,* 26 August 1979; "Military Aid From Switzerland and Holland," *Enfoprensa* (Washington, D.C.) 8 March 1985, 2.

176. "Adiestara Taiwan a soldados de Guatemala en lucha contrainsurgente," *Excelsior* (Mexico City), 28 April 1984. For more detail on the role of Taiwan see George Black, "Under the Gun," *NACLA Report on the Americas,* 19, no. 6 (November/December 1985): 18.

177. David Ferreira, "Guatemala: Unholy Allies," *Africasia,* no. 11 (November 1984): 4. A military delegation from South Africa led by generals J.B. Erasmus and Alexander Potgeiter, visited Guatemala in November 1984. "Chronology of Events," 4.

178. Klieman, 1985, 149-166, has a very good chapter entitled "Special Military Relationships" which examines Israeli relations with South Africa, Argentina, Iran and Zaire.

179. "Anatomia de la contrainsurgencia," *Boletin Siag* [Servicio de Informacion y Analisis de Guatemala, Mexico City], no. 34, 2 March 1985, 3. A Guatemalan army colonel recently told *Wall Street Journal* reporter Clifford Krauss that his heroes were Napoleon and Hitler adding, "I respect conquerors." Krauss comments that "he also greatly admires the Israelis as 'warriors,' and hopes his own countrymen will become more like them." 30 October 1985.

180. Anonymous interview, San Diego, California, 26 February 1981.

181. Black, 1983, 43.

182. Krueger and Enge, v. See also Piero Gleijeses, "The Guatemalan Silence," *The New Republic,* 10 June 1985, 20-23; Allan Nairn, "The Guns of Guatemala," *The New Republic,* 11 April 1983, 17-21, and *Voices of the Survivors: The Massacre at Finca San Francisco, Guatemala,* Occasional Paper No.10. (Cambridge, Mass.: Cultural Survival and Anthropology Resource Center, September 1983).

183. Nat Hentoff, "Should a Jewish State Arm a Christian Slaughterer?" *Village Voice,* 21 June 1983.

184. Tom Buckley, *Violent Neighbors: El Salvador, Central America, and the United States* (New York: Times Books, 1984), 261.

185. Black, Jamail, and Chinchilla, 155. In the 1982-1984 period there were at least sixty-eight documented incursions of the Guatemalan military into Mexican territory, resulting in the deaths of more than twenty Guatemalan refugees. U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), *Central American Refugees: Regional Conditions and Prospects and Potential Impact on the United States, Report to Congress of the U.S. by the Comptroller General of the U.S.* (Washington, D.C. 20 July 1984), 25.

186. "Transforming the Indian Highlands," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America,* 6 May 1983, 8. See also Douglas Foster, "Guatemala: On the Green Path," *Mother Jones,* November/December 1985, 12.

187. For detail on the links between Israeli agricultural development programs in Guatemala see Rubenberg, 1986, Black, 1983, and Perera, 1985. Rubenberg points out that the broad base of rural peasant support for the guerrilla movement led to the incorporation of agricultural resettlement schemes into counterinsurgency plans. Thus the combined military-agricultural programs the Israelis offered were attractive to the Guatemalan military.

188. Loren Jenkins, "Behind Guatemala's 24 'Model Villages' for Indians," *San Francisco Chronicle,* 9 January 1985.

189. U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, *Sustaining A Consistent Policy in Central America: One Year After the National Bipartisan Commission Report,* Special Report No. 124. (Washington, D.C., April 1985), 12.

190. *Latin American Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America,* 17 August 1984, 8. In a special report issued later that year Latin American Newsletters stated that "though the Israelis are probably giving help in producing the Galils, it now seems that Austria has provided the plant and some of the technology. A number of Guatemalan officers have been in Austria recently on training courses to enable them to run the factory." *The Latin American Arms Trade* (London: Latin American Newsletters Special Report, 1984), 9. Due to the secret nature of the factory, it is not possible to determine the full extent of Israeli involvement. It appears that at the least Tadiran Israel Electronics Industries, Inc. and Eagle Military Gear Overseas—both Israeli companies—were involved in the design and construction of the plant. See Jacques Lemieux, "El papel de Israel en Centroamerica," *Le Monde Diplomatique en Espanol,* October 1984; Josh Karliner and Julie Sweig, "Oozing With Uzis: Israel in Latin America," *City on a Hill* (Santa Cruz, Calif.) 10 May 1984, and "Israel's Part in Central America," (II), 386.

191. Karni.

192. *Invasion: A Guide to the U.S. Military Presence in Central America,* (Philadelphia: National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex [NARMIC], 1985), 18. During the electoral campaign in 1985, President Cerezo pledged "to look into the full scope of Israel's collaboration with the military, including the reported installation of a munitions factory in Alta Verapaz two years ago." Victor Perera, "The Lost Tribes of Guatemala," *The Monthly* (Berkeley, Calif.), November 1985.

193. "Guatemala Arms Factory Denied," *Houston Chronicle,* 21 October 1983.

194. "Government Making Its Own Weaponry,"*San Antonio Light,* 28 December 1983.

195. "Buying Time for Nicaragua," *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America,* 2 December 1983, 3.

196. "Arms Factory," *Enfoprensa,* 6 January 1984, 3.

197. "Government Making Its Own Weaponry."

198. "Escuelas tecnicas militares y policiacas, " *Informador Guerrillero* (Ejercito Guerrillero de los Pobres, Guatemala), no. 40, 31 May 1985, 8; "Chronology of Relations Between Guatemala and Its Supporters." See also Beit-Hallahmi, 1985, 3. Black, 1985, 12, reports that the Armadillo are being constructed at a second munitions plant located at Santa Ana Berlin.

199. "Government Making Its Own Weaponry."

200. "Israel's Part in Central America," (II), *Central America Report,* 14 December 1984, 386.

201. "Israeli Arms Factory Open for Business," *Guardian* (New York), 16 November 1983.

202. "Informe confidencial: plan conjunto de Estados Unidos, Israel y Guatemala: convertiran a Guatemala en un gran complejo industrial militar," *Boletin SIAG* [Servicio de Informacion y Analisis de Guatemala, Mexico City], no. 15, (30 April 1984), 2-3.

203. "Israel's Part in Central America," (II), 387.

204. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (Latin America), "Defense Minister Says Guerrillas 'Under Control,'" 20 February 1986 (Panama City ACAN in Spanish, 19 February 1986).

205. Buckley, 261.

CHAPTER 4

WHEN WILL IT END ?

In this final chapter we want to draw together some of the broad themes that run throughout the monograph, focus on the responses elicited by criticism of the Israel-Central America connection, briefly mention internal criticism of Israel's Central American foreign policy, and draw some final observations on the future of Israeli-Central American military relations.

Israeli Responses to Criticism of Its Central American Policy

If country "X" sold arms and gave military and intelligence advice to nations in Central America, and if it could be shown that this assistance was helping to bring about the death of innocent civilians in a country which the United States Congress had found to be a gross and consistent violator of internationally recognized human rights, most people in the U.S. would be appalled. However, when country "X" is identified as the state of Israel, the horror often turns into disbelief, followed by accusations that the charges are untrue, anti-Semitic, or are simply PLO or Soviet propaganda.[1] Reports of Israeli actions in Central America should not be labeled anti-Semitic any more than reports on U.S. policy in the region should be labeled "un-American."

The most basic official response to criticism of Israel's military presence and activity in the region is denial or no comment.[2] When faced with evidence of Israeli military involvement pro-Israeli com-

mentators and Israeli government spokespersons usually resort to four defenses: (1) Israel sells to anyone and everyone;[3] (2) even though there are Israelis in Central America, and Central American governments buy Israeli military supplies, these do not constitute official government transactions; (3) Israel sells only outdated equipment to Central America; and (4) Israel should not be held up to higher moral standards than other nations.

Israeli ambassador to Guatemala Dayan told *Washington Post* reporter Christopher Dickey that Israel will sell arms to anybody, even Nicaragua and Cuba.[4] Kaufman confirms this position, stating: "One must realize that Israel would not refrain from selling arms to any regime."[5] He adds that Israel conducted military transactions with the progressive Allende government in Chile and with the reformist government in Peru some fifteen years ago. Kaufman points to the fact that Israel sold military equipment to both El Salvador and Honduras in 1969 as an example of Israel's neutral position in Central America.[6] He fails to point out that both were rightist governments. But more fundamentally, neither Dayan's nor Kaufman's excuses are relevant to Central America. The fact is that even though Israel *could* sell arms to Nicaragua and Cuba, it does not; nor does the fact that Israel sold military equipment to Chile and Peru in the 1970s apply to the current Central American crisis.

The second argument often made is that many Israelis in Central America are there as private citizens and that a sizeable number of the arms deals are made by private Israeli citizens not acting as government officials. Kaufman adds: "Often to the embarrassment of the Defense Ministry, arms sales in the region go through too many hands. The ministry has tried to put an end, so far ineffectively, to unnecessary intermediaries, agents and arms merchants and conduct business in a more centralized way."[7] This is true in part, but the reality is that the Israeli military industry is closely tied to the state of Israel, and it is clear that the Israeli government understands the impact of Israel's military involvement in Central America — both official and unofficial — and could put a stop to it if it perceived such involvement not to be in its interest.

A third argument made to justify arms sales to Central America is that Israel sells only equipment that it can no longer use. Although it is true that Israel sold reconditioned aircraft to both El Salvador and Honduras in the 1970s, the fighter jets did not lose their sophisticated capabilities simply because they had previous owners. Israel continues to sell military items overseas that it no longer requires,

but it also produces large quantities of arms and equipment designed specifically for the foreign market. The Galil and Uzi automatic rifles are among the most prized small arms in the world and Israeli computer technology for military use is an important component of their foreign military sales.

It could be argued that Israeli arms sales to Central America are not *that* important to Israel and have not amounted to that much money. Although it is true that Israeli arms sales and advice have not brought great amounts of revenue to Israel, the equipment and advice have been crucial to the Central American militaries and to the contras. They have come at a time when the United States could not directly provide weapons or assistance because of congressional restrictions or fear of the reaction of the American public.

Is Israel being judged on a higher moral plane than other countries that sell arms? Remer points out that Israel often uses a moral justification for its existence.[8] However, when it comes to arms sales to questionable regimes, the response is, "Everyone else does it, why not Israel?" Arnson agrees that Israel should not be held up to a higher moral standard and adds that "Its foreign policy should be subject to the same scrutiny that applies elsewhere."[9] Israel should be judged by the same human rights standards that are applied to other nations. Those offended by U.S. aid to repressive governments in Central America and to the contras should be equally offended by Israeli aid to those same sectors.

How has the issue of Israeli arms sales to Central America been received in Israel? Klieman points out that overseas arms sales are very popular in Israel.[10] Nevertheless, a 1983 poll by the *Jerusalem Post* found that 35 percent of Israelis surveyed disapproved of arms sales by their government to "racist and dictatorial regimes."[11] "Of course, the question of arms sales to repressive dictatorships poses serious ethical issues," commented Knesset member Yossi Sarid, but he added, "The Israeli people are burdened with so many problems, the questions about arms sales do not have a high priority."[12] On sales to Central America, Klieman notes that more Israelis are asking questions as to "what reasons Israel might have for becoming involved in Central America."[13] There has been some direct criticism of Israeli military involvement in Central America. In 1980 the Israeli labor federation Histadrut wrote Prime Minister Menachem Begin asking that all arms sales to Guatemala be curtailed.[14] Other members of the Knesset have voiced opposition at times. However, as Perera observes, there is almost a total lack of accountability to the Knesset by the

defense industry.[15] There is little effective protest in Israel against its role in Central America. As Klieman points out, the Israeli defense industry is "perhaps the single most powerful interest group in the country today."[16] Peri and Neubach note that the network of relations that typifies the Israeli military-industrial complex "virtually precludes any political discussion of a general, critical nature to examine the broader aspects of Israel's arms export policy."[17] There was some thought that if Shimon Peres were elected he would curb Israel's military presence in the region.[18] However, given the power of the Israeli defense industry, the importance of overseas arms sales, and Israel's closer involvement with U.S. foreign policy goals in the region, this scenario is highly unlikely to unfold.

Cornerstone of the Economy or Surrogate of the U.S.?

As was discussed in chapter 2, there are five principle reasons why Israel sells arms: (1) to maintain its "special relationship" with Central America; (2) to gain diplomatically; (3) to contribute to the Israeli economy; (4) to serve as a surrogate for the United States and (5) to carry out part of a new Cold War foreign policy agenda. The most important factor in the overseas arms sales of Israel is its crucial importance to the economy of Israel. But to understand the motivation for Israeli military involvement in Central America, we think it is more important to look at the relationship between Israel and the United States. The Israelis are willing to act in Central America because it pleases the U.S. and significant Israeli constituencies in the United States. This helps to solidify the enormous economic and military assistance the U.S. gives to Israel. And the U.S. has been able to use Israeli involvement in Central America to more easily pursue its policies. U.S. Congressmen who oppose the Reagan administration's policies in Central America will vote in support of those policies if they are packaged together with foreign aid to Israel. Robert Kaiser, *Washington Post* associate editor, reported one House of Representatives member as saying, "I displayed my usual cowardice," after voting for aid to El Salvador in a bill that included aid to Israel. Kaiser adds, "Not that he opposed the aid to Israel the bill contained; he just resented, as many members do, the absolute political requirement that many feel to 'vote Israel' whenever the occasion arises, even if that means abandoning another principle."[19] Columnist Nick Thimmesch was a bit harsher. "It is amusing to watch liberal Democrats like Senator

Christopher Dodd, and Congressmen Stephen J. Solarz and Michael Barnes, righteously oppose Reagan's urgent proposal for increased arms shipments to besieged Central American nations. These critics do not acknowledge that their votes for generous military aid to Israel can make it possible for the Jewish state to provide the very weapons to Central America that these Democrats don't want there."[20]

The Future

Although it is difficult to predict precisely how Israeli military involvement in Central America will develop, it seems clear that the Israeli role in Central America is growing, not diminishing. As Klieman notes, "The government of Israel irrespective of its party composition, will continue, for the forseeable future, to be deeply and directly implicated in defense-related export."[21] For most of the reasons discussed in chapter 1, it will not be easy for Israel to curtail its military role in Central America. First, Central America is an available market for a crucial Israeli industry.[22] Second, Israel perceives itself as receiving diplomatic benefits from its arms sales policy, and third, Israel will continue to receive pressure (and rewards) from the United States to act in Central American areas where the U.S. is restricted by law or where it is politically dangerous to act.

Let us turn to two specific areas. First, Israeli involvement with the Nicaraguan contras. Regarding possible increases in Israeli aid to the contras, Kaufman comments, "From an Israeli official perspective, the cost of the operation could be generously compensated for by receiving larger amounts of U.S. military aid as well as displaying goodwill towards an administration which has not enough room for maneuver south of its border."[23] As we have illustrated in chapters 2 and 3, Israel has provided critical aid to the contras which is likely to increase in the future.

A second area in which we expect continued and increased Israeli involvement is in small arms, ammunition, communications equipment and computer technology for military use. This is precisely what the Central American militaries and the contras need and, important from the Israeli perspective, these are items whose sales and transfers are difficult to detect.

While the Israelis see their military involvement in Central America as in their national interest, it seems that this view is shortsighted. Israeli arms, advice and technology in Central America are deadly

to Central Americans and, in the long run, may prove to be detrimental to the manner in which Israel defines its national interest. Israel is willing to sell arms or give advice to any country — no matter how repressive. The individual local conditions are of little import if Israel perceives an economic, diplomatic or security gain for itself. The Israeli government clearly understands that its military assistance is being used to repress. As Arnson points out, "The tyrannies which count Israel among their benefactors will not last forever, and thus make unreliable allies, while Israeli participation in the brutality perpetrated by these regimes is not easily forgotten by its victims."[24]

As we have documented in this book, Israeli aid to the Central American militaries and to the contras has been an important contributing factor to the continuation of oppression in Central America. The Israelis are very good at what they do militarily and they are secretive. Israeli military aid to the region accomplishes U.S. policy goals without popular and congressional opposition. If Israeli military involvement in the region is not openly and honestly examined and discussed, the U.S. government will continue to use the sensitive nature of the issue to further discourage debate of U.S. policy in Central America.

Notes

1. Edy Kaufman ("The View from Jerusalem." *The Washington Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (Fall 1984): 41) claims that "distinctions between myth and reality have been purposefully blurred by Arab sources as a part of an overall propaganda effort." Kaufman focuses on criticisms from the PLO and the Soviet press in an attempt to discredit all critics of Israel's Central American policy. As one of his sources, Kaufman uses an article that he apparently translated to English from an Argentine newspaper. The article originally appeared in English. For more on Kaufman's views see "Fuzzing a Legitimate Issue: Israel's Presence in Central America." *Israeli Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 4 (March 1985): 2ff.

The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) also views any criticism of Israeli military involvement in Central America as exaggerated. "Israel's arms sales to authoritarian regimes in Latin America, which are small in comparison with those of the major powers, are amplified to identify the Jewish State with repression in those countries. It is, of course, a fact that, having been denied a normal share of other markets by the Arab Boycott, Israel does not generally have the luxury of denying itself those markets which remain open. Moreover, it is hard to believe that its minor role in trade with these nations would get so much attention if it were not part of a campaign to depict the Jewish State itself in a negative light." Amy Kaufman Goott and Steven J. Rosen (eds.). *The Campaign to Discredit Israel* (Washington, D.C.: American Israel Public Affairs Committee, 1983), 19.

Klieman states that "rumors of arms activities, even when baseless, are a convenient

means for critics and detractors to cast a slur upon Israel's integrity and its international standing" (1985), 50.

2. For example, see "Israel Denies It Plans Salvador Military Aid," *New York Times*, 23 April 1984, and "Israel Denies Providing Arms to the Nicaraguan Insurgents," *New York Times*, 27 April 1984.

3. Another variation on this is, "if we didn't sell to them, somebody else would." This was the response of Walter Eytan, former director of Israel's foreign ministry, when asked why Israel sold military equipment to Central America. He previously stated that the arms industry was crucial to the Israeli economy. Interview with the authors, Seguin, Texas, 18 November 1985.

4. Christopher Dickey, "Guatemala Uses U.S. 'Civilian' Copters in Warfare." *Washington Post* 23 January 1982.

5. Kaufman, 45.

6. Ibid., 46.

7. Ibid.

8. Larry Remer, "Israeli Weapons Industry Goes Boom: But Its Arms Draw Fire As a Moral Issue Abroad," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 July 1981.

9. Cynthia Arnson, "Israel and Central America," *New Outlook*, March/April, 1984, 22.

10. Aharon Klieman, *Israeli Arms Sales: Perspectives and Prospects*, Paper No. 24 (Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, February 1984), 39.

11. Stephen S. Rosenfeld, "From Washington," *Present Tense*, Summer 1984, 39.

12. Victor Perera, "Uzi Diplomacy: How Israel Makes Friends and Enemies Around the World," *Mother Jones*, July 1985, 44.

13. Aaron Klieman, *Israel's Global Reach: Arms Sales As Diplomacy* (New York: Pergamon-Brassey's 1985), 113

14. Michael McClintock, *The American Connection: Volume Two, State Terror and Popular Resistance in Guatemala* (London: Zed Press, 1985), 193.

15. Perera, 45.

16. Klieman, 1985, 76.

17. Yoram Peri and Amnon Neubach, *The Military-Industrial Complex in Israel: A Pilot Study* (Tel Aviv: International Center for Peace in the Middle East, 1985), 80.

18. As we have seen, any move limiting Israeli arms sales would face stubborn opposition within Israel. But perhaps most important is the fact that Peres favors the use of military sales in diplomacy (Klieman, 1985, 37). Peres was director general and deputy defense minister from 1953 to 1965 and was a major force in the expansion of the arms industry (Klieman, 1985, 18).

19. Robert G. Kaiser, "Is Dependency on U.S. Aid Doing Israel Any Good?" *Miami Herald*, 3 June 1984.

20. Nick Thimmesch, "Nobody Wants to Talk About Israel's Role in Central America," *Los Angeles Times Syndicate*, 19 May 1984.

21. Klieman, 1985, 109.

22. It is important to note how Israel might be affected by a peaceful resolution to the conflicts in Central America. Klieman sees this as a danger to the Israeli arms market: "The Central American market conceivably could dry up as quickly as it surfaced, especially if efforts at peace mediation such as those by the Contadora group were to succeed in putting a freeze on arms shipments and negotiating a withdrawal of all foreign troops and military advisors from the region" (1985, 136).

23. Kaufman, 49.

24. Arnson, 1984, 22. Elkin points out that "by acting in support of US policies in Central America, Israel acquired within a few short months the burden of hostility which the United States had taken a century to earn." *The Hostage Jewish Communities of Latin America* (Paper presented to the XII International Congress of Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 18-20, 1985), 11.

APPENDIX

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON ISRAEL'S MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Although our bibliography is comprehensive to date, to keep abreast of this topic we recommend that the researcher consult on a regular basis the following news and indexing sources:

Inforpress Centroamericana, a weekly newsletter on Central America published in Guatemala, and *Central America Report*, an English language newsletter from the same publisher.

This Week Central America and Panama, a weekly newsletter in English published in Guatemala.

Enfoprensa: Information on Guatemala, a weekly review of Guatemalan events published in Washington.

Boletin SIAG, a biweekly newsletter on Guatemala published by the Servicio de Informacion y Analisis de Guatemala, Mexico City.

Latin America Weekly Report and *Latin America Regional Reports: Mexico and Central America*, both published by Latin American Newsletters, London.

Israeli Foreign Affairs, a monthly newsletter from Oakland, California which includes extensive coverage of Israel's involvement in Central America.

NACLA Report on the Americas, a journal of contemporary Latin American issues published six times a year by the North American Congress on Latin America, New York.

MERIP Middle East Report, a journal of contemporary Middle East issues published nine times a year by the Middle East Research & Information Project, Washington, D.C.

Information Services on Latin America (ISLA), a biweekly clipping service which provides photocopies of articles about Latin America from major U.S. newspapers. Available from the Data Center, Oakland, California.

Central America Monitor, a biweekly compilation of selected English language articles on Central America. Available from the Data Center, Oakland, California.

Newspaper indexes, including *New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Christian Science Monitor* and the *Wall Street Journal.*

Mexico City daily newspapers, including *Excelsior, El Dia, Unomasuno,* and *La Jornada.*

Guardian (New York).

Guardian (London).

Jerusalem Post International Edition.

Financial Times (London).

Le Monde Diplomatique (Paris) and *Le Monde Diplomatique en Espanol* (Mexico City).

Periodical indexes, including *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Social Science Index, Social Science Citation Index, Public Affairs Information Service* (PAIS), and the *Hispanic American Periodical Index* (HAPI).

United States government publications, especially the *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS) Daily Reports for Latin America, and Middle East and Africa.

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers.*

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) *Yearbook.*

Annual publications from Jane's Publishing Company, including *Jane's Weapons Systems, Jane's Fighting Ships,* and *Jane's All the World's Aircraft.*

International Defense Review.

The Military Balance published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London).

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Alpern, Aaron. "Mapam Links With Sandinistas." *Progressive Israel* (Tel Aviv), November/December 1985, 1ff.

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INDEX

Advisors, Israeli military, 43
  in Costa Rica, 46
  in El Salvador, 43-44
  in Guatemala, 55-56, 60-61
Africa, Israeli aid to, 23 n.23
Agriculture, Israeli technical assistance to, 10
Aircraft, 13*t*, *38-41*, 44*t*, 50*t*
  Guatemalan production of, 59-60
  Israeli sales of, to El Salvador, 43, 44*t*
    to Guatemala, 50*t*, 53
    to Honduras, 34-36
  reconditioned, 74
AK47 assault rifles, 31
Alvarez, Gustavo, 36
Amihud, Yossi, 43
Ammunition, 13*t*, 35*t*, 43, 50*t*, 54
Amnesty International, 51
Anderson, Jack, 46
Anti-communism, 21
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 29-30
Arab states, Israel-Central America relations and, 16-17
Arava-201 aircraft, 35*t*, 36, *38-39*, 43, 44*t*, 50*t*, 53
Arbenz Guzman, Jacobo, 49
Arevalo, Juan Jose, 49
Arias, Oscar, 47*t*
Armadillo tank, 59
Armored vehicles, 13*t*, 35*t*, 36, 50*t*, 59
Arms. *See also* Israel, arms industry of; *and specific arms*
  private sales of, 74
  third party transfers of, 31, 35
Azcona, Jose, 47*t*

Bazookas, 50*t*, 54
Belize, 47*t*
  Guatemala and, 52, 68 n.126
  -Israel relations, 17-18
Jewish population of, 8*t*n
Boats, 13*t*, 50*t*, 54
Brazil, arms industry, of 15
Bustillo, Rafael, 44

Campos, Johnny, 46
Central America. *See also specific countries*
  basic data on, 47*t*
  -Israel relations, 15-18, 27-28
  Israeli military involvement in, criticism of, 73-76
    future of, 77-78
    as proxy for U.S. aid, 18-22, 76-77
    reasons for, 7-22
    U.S. media coverage of, 1-2
  Jewish population of, 7, 8*t*
  technical assistance to, 10-11
  United Nations votes of, 9*t*
Cerezo, Vinicio, 17, 47*t*
Chamorro, Edgar, 31
Cold War, Israeli foreign policy and, 20-22
Communications equipment, 13*t*
Computer technology, 13*t*, 14
  El Salvador and, 43-44
  Guatemala and, 54-55
Contras, Israeli aid to, 30-33, 46
  in Costa Rica, 46, 48
  future of, 77
  as proxy for U.S. aid, 18-20
Costa Rica, 47*t*
  -Israel relations, 16-17, 45

Israeli aid to, 45-46, 48
Jewish population of, 8*t*
Nicaragua and, 46, 48
Counterinsurgency, 56-58, 60-61

Dabur patrol boat, 50*t*, 54
Dassault Ouragan jet fighter, 43, 44*t*
Dassault Super-Mystere, 34-35, 44*t*
Dayan, Moshe (ambassador to Guatemala), 52, 74
Death squads, 49, 51, 67 n.113
D'jalma Dominguez, Col., 59
Duarte, Jose Napoleon, 47*t*

Egypt, Israel-Central America relations and, 16
Eichmann, Adolf, 10
El Salvador, 47*t*
-Israel relations, 16-17
Israeli aid to, 43-45
Jewish population of, 8*t*
Esquivel, Manuel, 17-18, 47*t*
Eytan, Walter, 62 n.6

Fouga Magister trainer, 43, 44*t*
Frances, Hector, 46,48

Gadna, 11, 46
Galil assault rifle, 14, 35*t*, *37*, 45, 50*t*, 52, 53-54
Guatemalan production of, 58-59
Garcia Granados, Jorge, 9
Guatemala, 47*t*
counterinsurgency in, 56-58
human rights in, 49, 51, 57
Indians of, 57-58
-Israel relations, 17, 51-52
Israeli aid to, 48-61
counterinsurgency, 56-58
munitions plant, 58-60
as proxy for U.S. aid, 19, 51
Jewish population of, 8*t*
model villages in, 57-58
U.S. media coverage of, 1-2
-U.S. relations, 49, 58
Zionism and, 8-9
Guerra y Guerra, Francisco, 43-44

Haganah, 7, 28
Haig, Alexander, 19
Harel, Victor, 19
Helicopters, 50*t*, 53
Histadrut, 75

Hoge, Warren, 2
Honduras, 47*t*
-Israel relations, 17
Israeli aid to, 34-36
as proxy for U.S. aid, 19-20
Jewish population of, 8*t*
U.S. aid to, 36
Human rights, 22
Guatemala and, 48-49, 50, 57
Somoza and, 29

Immigration, 7
Israel:
arms industry of, 6-7, 12-15, 75-76
categories of, 13*t*
diplomacy and, 15-18
market for, 15, 74
private sales and, 74
U.S. competition with, 24 n.39
-Central America relations, 15-18, 27-28
Costa Rica and, 45-46, 48
El Salvador and, 43-45
establishment as state of, 6-10
foreign policy objectives of, 6-7
arms sales and, 15-18
Cold War mentality of, 20-22
criticism of, 73-76
U.S. objectives and, 18-20, 76-78
future involvement of, 77-78
Guatemala and, 48-61
Honduras and, 34-36
Nicaragua and, 28-34
public opinion in, 75-76
technical assistance of, 10-11
-U.S. relations, 18-22, 76-77
Israeli Defense Ministry, arms sales and, 14

Jerusalem, embassies in, 16-17

Katz, David Marcos, 54
Kfir C-2 fighter bomber, 35*t*, *41*, 50*t*
Guatemalan production of, 59-60
Kibbutz, 45, 57
Kimche, David, 18
Kissinger Commission, 2
-Report, 51
Knesset, 75-76

Latin America, Israel and, 9-10
Likud party, arms policy of, 12
Lobos Zamora, Rodolfo, 5, 55
Lopez Nuila, Carlos, 44
Lucas Garcia, Benedicto, 53, 54

Lucas Garcia, Romeo, 51, 54

M-101 howitzer, 35*t*
Mapam party, 34
Memorandum of Understanding, 18
Munitions plant, Guatemalan, 58-59

Nahal, 11
Napalm, 44-45
New Jewish Agenda, 30, 34
New York Times, 2
Nicaragua, 47*t*. *See also* Contras; Sandinistas
  Costa Rica and, 46, 48
  -Israel relations, 33-34
  Israeli arms sales to, 28-34, 77
  Jewish population of, 8*t*
  PLO and, 33
  Zionism and, 7-8
1967 War, 12
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 21

Ochoa Perez, Sigifredo, 45
Optical equipment, 13*t*, 14
Ordnance, 13*t*, 14, 35*t*, 44*t*, 50*t*, 53-54. *See also specific arms*
  Guatemalan production of, 59
Ortega, Daniel, 47*t*

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO):
  captured weapons of, 31
  El Salvador and, 16
  Israel and, 20-21
  Nicaragua and, 33
Palestinians, 57
Pell amendment, 31
Peres, Shimon, 28, 76
PLO. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization
Police, national, 27, 44, 62 n.1

Ramirez, Sergio, 33-34
RBY-MK armored car, 35*t*, 36, 50*t*, 54
Reagan, Ronald, 30
Rios Montt, Gen., 55
Rocket launchers, 43

SAM-7 antiaircraft missiles, 32
Sandinistas, 28
  anti-Semitism and, 29-30
  Israel and, 33-34
  PLO and, 33
Sandoval, Mario, 17
Security equipment, 13*t*
Serrano, Jorge, 17
Settlements, 46
Sharon, Ariel, 18
  Honduras visit of, 36
Smith, Wayne, 57
Somoza Debayle, Anastasio, 7, 28-29
Somoza Garcia, Anastasio, 7-8, 28
South Africa, 56

Taiwan, 56
Third World, arms sales to, 15

United Fruit Company, 49
United Nations:
  Central American votes on Israel in, 9*t*
  Israeli statehood and, 8-9
United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), 8-9
United States:
  Costa Rica and, 46
  Guatemala and, 49, 51, 52, 56, 58
  Israel as proxy for, 18-22, 76-77
    contra aid and, 31-32
  media coverage in, 1-2
  Nicaragua and, 29-33
  Somoza and, 29
United States Agency for International Development, 46
Uzi submachine gun, 14, 35*t*, *37*, 43, 50*t*, 53-54

Weinberger, Caspar, 18
Westwind aircraft, 35*t*, 36
Wohlers, Eduardo, 57

Youth organizations, 11, 46

Zionists:
  Guatemalan aid to, 8-9
  Nicaraguan aid to, 7-8
Zodiac assault boat, 50*t*

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